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A Talk With Yigal Allon

Herbert Krosney

Party Reform
THE DEMOCRATS OPEN THE DOOR
Samuel C. Brightman

Fiscal Problems, Human Needs
THE CASE FOR FEDERAL WELFARE
Alvin L. Schorr

New York Telephone
Guided Tour of the Balance Sheet

Frances Cerra

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LETTERS

Golden lectures

DEAR SIRS: Ramsey Clark will deliver the Harry Golden Lecture at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, on May 5, inaugurating an annual series to be concerned with Mr. Golden and his varied interests. Mr. Clark will speak on an aspect of civil rights. An endowment to support the series is being accumulated, beginning with a subscription dinner before the address. Tax-deductible gifts, made to the order of the Foundation of UNC Charlotte, should be addressed to me at the Department of English, UNCC Rural Branch, Charlotte, N. C. 28213.

Robert M. Wallace

man and image

Amherst, Mass.

DEAR SIRS: Truman Nelson's review of my biography of John Brown [*The Nation*, Mar. 29] is an unwarranted diatribe. Whether Nelson likes it or not, Brown was both a Calvinist and a violent and fighting revolutionary. The evidence on both counts is prodigious and irrefutable, as I think readers of *The Nation* would agree should they examine my book with an open mind.

Nelson's contention that Brown was neither religious nor a violent revolutionary is absurd (the Potawatami massacre alone refutes the notion that Brown was nonviolent). Yet, I have an idea why Nelson asserts such things. He is a self-proclaimed modern revolutionary who openly supports and eloquently sympathizes with the black liberation movement in its fight against the continuing injustice of American racism. In saying this, I am not denigrating either Nelson or the black movement, because I see profound similarities between the racist society that produced today's militants and the violent, slave society that produced John Brown. What I'm saying is that Nelson's inflexible revolutionary ideology explains the distorted conception which he has of Brown as a man. It is imperative for Nelson to see Brown in his own image, to read himself back into that complicated and prodigious figure of antebellum America. Therefore, since Nelson and today's revolutionaries are not Calvinists, Brown was not a Calvinist. Never mind the overwhelming evidence that Brown *was* a Calvinist. Never mind the testimony of his family, his friends, his employees, and his Abolitionist sponsors (Sanborn, Higginson, Parker, et al.) that he was "a Puritan of the Old Order." Never mind the fact that a man can be profoundly religious and still not attend church (especially if he believes the church is racist and pro-slavery). Truman Nelson is not religious. Brown was not religious. Woe to anybody who says differently. Woe to anybody who even suggests that Brown the Hero might have had an unfavorable trait or two, because in Nelson's obstinate mind, the world is a struggle between impeccable Good Guys and heinous Bad Guys. And John Brown was a Good Guy. Anybody who ventures into the nuances between extremes, anybody who portrays Brown as a real-life human being who could love *and* hate—who had good *and* bad qualities—is an enemy of the revolution and deserves the ax. Thus the portrait of Brown that emerges from Nelson's review is a propaganda set piece stripped of historical reality, a symbol and a rallying cry for today's secular revolutionaries.

Nelson, it should be pointed out, wrote a favorable review of my book for the Boston *Globe* (July 27, 1970). In the *Globe* review, he declared that the biography "succeeds marvelously" in blasting away with "high-powered scholarship" the defaming image of Brown made popular by several noted historians. Then, for reasons best known to himself, he did a complete turnabout and in *The Nation* unleashed a diatribe against the very book he had earlier praised for its "high-powered scholarship."

Stephen B. Oates

EDITORIALS

It Won't Wash

Suddenly the silent man of American super-espionage has become vocal. Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, has seen with the unaided eye what has happened to the "image" of the far more famous director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In a rush to burnish the image of his own agency, Helms has turned on the bright lights.

First he spoke to the Society of Newspaper Editors. The speech got a big play in the papers. *The New York Times* headline was, "Helms Defends the CIA as Vital to a Free Society," and the story was accompanied by excerpts from the speech and a biographical piece, "His Mission is Facts." This was followed three days later by a long article by Benjamin Welles in *The New York Times Magazine*, "H—L—S of the CIA." Its general tone was favorable, but it contained the following item:

While Allen Dulles was CIA director, with Helms serving as deputy chief of Clandestine Services, Khrushchev delivered his "de-Stalinization" speech. The speech was leaked verbatim to the *Times* by a CIA-State Department decision. At the same time, Helms's experts were concocting a partly fabricated version. Khrushchev had said nothing about Soviet foreign policy; Helms and his crew made thirty-two inserts, including what Welles describes as "authentic damning statements made by Soviet leaders," and leaked this doctored document simultaneously with the *Times*'s authentic copy of the speech, the purpose being to sow confusion and distrust in the Communist world. His mission is facts?

Helms assures us that the CIA is run by tight-lipped, honorable men, like himself. How honorable he is the Khrushchev episode shows. He is not so tight-lipped either. After his speech to the newspaper editors, Helms told reporters that in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis American intelligence was aided by "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians," and added that U.S. intelligence would have "a major and vital role in any international agreement to limit strategic arms." One could scarcely avoid inferring that the CIA has agents in the Soviet Union who are aiding the United States in the SALT talks. If this were true, a discreet intelligence officer would not talk about it. Whether it is true or not, it sounds like an effort to disrupt the SALT negotiations.

Mr. Helms says that his agency does not have "any domestic security functions." Perhaps it has reformed, but, in view of the disclosures a few years ago that it had covertly financed a number of domestic organizations, one must reserve judgment.

At the time of the murder of a Vietnamese double (or triple) agent in 1969 by the Green Berets, Helms told newsmen that murder and torture cannot be condoned. Helms said that his men had advised the Berets to turn the man over to the South Vietnamese for disposition. But, made indignant by the Calley case, former Green Beret Capt. Robert F. Marasco has disclosed that he shot the man on what amounted to orders from the CIA, which recommended that the spy be disposed of "with

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extreme prejudice," a well-understood euphemism. Marasco described the Green Berets as the "action arm" of the CIA. His confessions may be pre-publication publicity for a novel about the killing, or may be connected with his desire to run for the New Jersey State Assembly. Whatever his motives, it is difficult to discount his story. In his current statements, Marasco sounds more plausible than Helms.

Jack Anderson asserts in his column from Washington that ever since the Bay of Pigs fiasco, in which President Kennedy was hoodwinked by the CIA, the organization has continued in its efforts to assassinate Castro. He names names and gives details. He says that CIA agents made two attempts to slip poison pellets into Castro's food, four attempts to kill him with high-powered rifles. The CIA, according to Anderson, has spared no expense to finance clandestine operations against the Castro regime. One of Anderson's sources is a former U.S. Army captain who conducted raids on Cuba for the CIA. This young man sums up the experience with the statement that it "has been a plague on the national conscience as it has been on mine."

Helms asks us to "take it on faith that we . . . are honorable men devoted to [a democratic society's] service." On the record, only an extremely gullible newsman would take such protestations on faith. During a frightful emergency, and for its duration only, one might suspend judgment about the activities of an agency like the CIA and a director like Richard Helms. At this time and on the basis of these assertions, we emphatically do not.

The Business about Bussing

The embittered opposition to school bussing was from the start synthetic, dishonest and demagogic. There was nothing novel about bussing; it had been an accepted practice in many school systems for years. In fact more than a third of the children in public schools were being bussed at the time the agitation was initiated by whites who did not want to acknowledge that they were opposed to desegregation.

It is therefore not surprising that the Supreme Court, in unanimous opinions written by the Chief Justice, has pushed this spurious controversy aside and reaffirmed the basic premise of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954). The decisions take a common-sense view of the issues. For example, if a school system resolutely refuses to come up with a plan that meets Supreme Court standards, then a judge who is forced by circumstances to produce his own plan may insist that each elementary school reflect the racial pattern of the community. But it does not follow that every school in every community must reflect the racial pattern of the school system as a whole. School officials must not play games with the law of the land: it is their duty to foster desegregation by affirmative means. "All things being equal," to quote the Chief Justice, "with no history of discrimination, it might be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce segregation."

The decisions open up some subsidiary issues that

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could prove to be troublesome, but the general thrust is in the right direction. Great credit is due the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and its counsel, particularly Jack Greenberg and James M. Nabrit 3rd, for carrying these cases to the Supreme Court and for their forceful and brilliant presentation of the issues.

Now that these clarifying rulings have been handed down, perhaps the nation can get on with the long-deferred task of implementing the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. Considerable progress has been made, but there might have been much more if Congress and the executive had provided affirmative support for the Court's decision and if local communities had not tried to subvert the law of the land by delaying tactics, evasive schemes, and outright obstruction.

These tactics have helped bring on the crisis of the cities. For example, if timely and effective action had been taken in Washington, the capital would not have today a public school system which is almost entirely made up of black students. When a courageous and intelligent judge—Alfred Gitelson—handed down in Los Angeles as recently as February 11, 1970 a decision that merely directed the Board of Education to come up with a plan for desegregation which he reserved the right to approve, President Nixon referred to it as "the most extreme" decision he had heard of, while to Governor Reagan it was "the most ridiculous." The voters then showed their appreciation of Judge Gitelson's valor by defeating him in the November election.

Judge Gitelson reminded his constituents of something the entire nation needs to keep in mind—that we have but two generations between now and the year 2000 when, if present trends continue, 50 per cent of the population may well be made up of so-called minorities. Teen-agers who have grown up in segregated communities and attended segregated schools naturally have some problems adjusting to a desegregated school situation, but the longer action is deferred the more complicated the problem becomes. Desegregation has never been the real problem; the problem is caused by the reluctance of a large section of white America to abide by the Fourteenth Amendment, particularly the provision that the individual states shall not deny any person within their jurisdictions the equal protection of the laws. The Supreme Court has now once again pointed the way, in a unanimous decision, by a thoroughly bipartisan Court. So it is time to put a stop to further stalling, foot-dragging, bigoted agitation, violence, cheap "Southern strategy" politics, and resistance-through-litigation, and get on with the business of fashioning a unitary public school system.

Hardening the Line

In his staged interview with six newsmen before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, President Nixon argued that it would be necessary for us to retain forces in South Vietnam until two objectives are achieved: (*1*) release of American prisoners of war held by the North Vietnamese; (*2*) ability of the South Vietnamese Government to develop the capacity to defend itself against a Communist take-over. The President modified the second condition somewhat: "not the sure chance, but at least the chance."

The POWs are one of North Vietnam's trump cards. POWs are normally exchanged when a war ends. Why an exception should be made for Americans, other than that we should all like to see the men come home, is for Mr. Nixon to explain. The quickest way to get the men back would be to end the war.

On the prospective viability of the South Vietnamese Government we have expert testimony. Vice President (and de facto Air Vice Marshal) Nguyen Cao Ky declares an American military presence may be needed for fifteen or twenty years, that the regime of President Thieu is corrupt, that American aircraft supplied to the South Vietnamese are "for women," etc. He likens South Vietnam to "a rotten boat covered with lousy paint" (something we have long suspected).

Of course Ky is so volatile that one never knows how seriously to take his statements. One day he calls for an invasion of North Vietnam; the next day, or at least in the same week, he declares this to be impossible and calls for peace.

How are we to get out of this morass? The best hope seems to be that Ky, Thieu and Gen. Duong Van Minh ("Big Minh") will run for the Presidency in October, and that Minh might win. The National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese will deal with Minh. But he will not run for the Presidency unless the August elections for seats in the Chamber of Deputies promise that the October election will not be rigged. That, of course, depends on the United States. But if this escape hatch is to be used, the ideas of Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger must be radically changed, and Mr. Nixon gave no sign of any such tendency in his address before the newspaper editors.

Mr. Mitchell Objects

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), now known as the House Internal Security Committee (HISC), or one might say HUAC-HISC, is, and always has been, an abomination. President Truman once referred to it as "the most un-American thing in America," and he was right on target that time. The problem has been that few Congressmen are willing to oppose the committee's activities, much less to raise objections to its budgetary requests. On March 25, a freshman in the House, Rep. Parren J. Mitchell (D., Md.) appeared before the Subcommittee on Accounts of the House Administration Committee to testify against HUAC-HISC's request for an appropriation of $670,000 to supplement the $250,000 which it receives automatically as a standing committee. He was particularly annoyed with the committee's defamation of civil rights leaders among black Americans and its espousal in 1968 of detention centers provided for by the McCarran Act.

In the event that the budget request is not denied, Mr. Mitchell has called for full-scale public hearings which would give critics of HUAC-HISC a chance to state their case for abolition of the committee. Unless such a hearing is held, Mr. Mitchell points out, his colleagues can hardly escape responsibility for—indeed complicity in—HISC's

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continued harassment of political dissenters. For a new member of the House, this is courageous and astute leadership; if those members of the House who say privately that they oppose HISC would support his initiative, the myth of HISC's invincibility might be destroyed.

A Permanency of Colonels

After revisiting Greece, Roy Perrott writes in the London *Observer* that in all his travels, and except for one or two countries behind the iron curtain, he has not come across a regime that attempts so thorough a hold on the shaping of society. He calls the junta "a permanency." Anybody who took stock in the Colonels' protestations that theirs was only an interim dictatorship can now kick himself—and that includes first and foremost, the government of the United States. Not that either the Johnson or the Nixon Administrations necessarily believed the Colonels—we are friendly with many dictatorships that contribute to what the Pentagon sees as our world mission—and in the case of Greece credulity served as a convenient cover.

The American Government does indeed continue to bleat for restoration of constitutional rule, but the Colonels take these protestations at their face value, which is nil. They are quite smart enough to distinguish between arms and verbiage.

Of course a certain amount of embarrassment is inherent in having the southeastern anchor of NATO in the grip of what amounts to a Fascist regime. It is embarrassing to the State Department and to our partners in NATO. Our embassy in Athens has been urging for months that at least martial law should be lifted—primarily, although it was not said in so many words, to save face for the United States. Papadopoulos and his fellow bullies have stalled on this request, and in fact it is not reasonable. The regime endures by force of arms, police power, torture, and a vast spy system. It has no intention of committing suicide to accommodate the Americans.

If the Americans become importunate, the Colonels know how to bring them to heel. They need only threaten an alignment with the Soviet Union or the Arabs, or both. Secretary of State Rogers can express disappointment: that much the Colonels will permit.

They have now been in power for four years and on April 21, the anniversary, they put on a little celebration, at which Papadopoulos bawled out his subjects, decrying their individualism, their mistrust of the authorities, their materialism, and "lack of courage in denouncing illegality." The last means that there are not enough volunteer spies and stool pigeons.

To make the situation more humiliating for Washington, the Colonels have virtually discarded the fiction that all they wanted was to avert the threat of communism, and restore democracy. In their estimation, the only way Greek individualism can be curbed is by strong government—a police state by another name, ruled by themselves. There have been transitory Greek dictatorships in this century; this one aspires to be permanent. The universities, the army, the trade unions, the press, and all other institutions of society that might challenge the Colonels' rule have been thoroughly purged. Elections are thought "premature" and will continue so. Perrott went around asking questions among diplomats and others, and the consensus was that among 6 million voters (now non-voters) fewer than 10 per cent favored the regime. Papadopoulos still drives to and from his office in a bulletproof limousine along a route cleared and guarded by 300 policemen.

If the United States took a firm stand, stopped arms shipments, and threatened the junta with further sanctions, there might be a change. It is hard to see any other road to freedom for the Greeks—and there is no sign that the United States will take it. Our government is, therefore, an accomplice after the fact.

San Jose's New Mayor

Norman Y. Mineta, 39, former councilman and Deputy Mayor, has been elected Mayor of San Jose (pop. 455,000); he is the first Japanese-American to be elected to an office of this rank in California. Mayor Mineta drew 62 per cent of the vote, in part, it is reported, because of his ancestry and also because he spent two years in a World War II relocation center, when his family, along with other Japanese, citizens and aliens alike, about 125,000 in all, were removed from the three West Coast states and placed in internment camps. The Mineta family spent their sojourn in the Heart Mountain center near Cody, Wyo., not the worst of the centers, but still quite a sharp change from California. "I dug a lot of potatoes there," is the Mayor's laconic comment. Of the relocation, he says it was "a kind of history from which we must learn, so that nothing like it can happen again."

His thoughtful attitude about the experience, which was harsh and humiliating, prompts a word of comment about the evacuees. If the government had undertaken to intern 125,000 Americans of almost any other ethnic or racial stock—uprooting them from their homes and farms and businesses, herding them into temporary corrals (usually race tracks) and then shipping them off to distant and isolated camps—the uproar would have been deafening and the problem of maintaining order might have been insurmountable. Under the circumstances, the self-discipline exhibited by the Japanese was truly remarkable. They keenly resented the way they were treated, but took the position that if the government had become bereft of its reason and sense of fairness it was only a temporary aberration induced by the fever of war. So they cooperated, in the sense that they really ran the centers, maintained order and, once released, returned (for the most part) to their former homes, where their neighbors, a bit shamefaced, greeted them as though they were just back from a protracted vacation. At the time, some observers thought their behavior exemplary. Perhaps they should have protested more than they did, but they survived the experience and emerged from it with the country's respect for the fortitude they had shown.

Mayor Mineta has his work cut out for him. San Jose is a rapidly growing community with a full roster of social, economic and racial problems. But he should be the better Mayor for having learned about majority intolerance at an early age.

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A TALK WITH YIGAL ALLON

HERBERT KROSNEY
Mr. Krosney, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is a producer of documentaries in Israel. A former producer with National Educational Television, he is the author of* Beyond Welfare: Poverty in the Supercity *(Holt, Rinehart & Winston).*

I was on my way to interview Yigal Allon, the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel, who lives on a kibbutz just north of Tiberias on the "Kinneret" (in Hebrew), more commonly known by its Christian-associated name, the Sea of Galilee. The fastest way to get from Jerusalem to Tiberias these days is through Jericho and then north along the Jordan River Valley basin. The road north along the Jordan was closed until just recently because it crossed a "military area" designed to ward off Arab terrorist penetrations. Now, a half year into a cease-fire with the Arab states, and after Hussein's crackdown on the terrorists, the road is open to civilian traffic.

It was my first time up the entire road, and I could only marvel at the speed of our trip. We arrived in Tiberias only an hour and forty-five minutes after leaving Jerusalem. Sitting by the Sea of Galilee, we grabbed a typical Israeli breakfast of salad, pickles, eggs, cheese and bread, and then drove another fifteen minutes to get to Ginosar, Allon's kibbutz, just north of Tiberias.

The Northern Galilee is the center of Israel's kibbutzim. Many of Israel's top leaders come from the area—most notably, Allon, but also the former Prime Minister, Levi Eshkol, and Moshe Dayan, even Golda Meir spent some of her early years on a kibbutz in the region. It is a beautiful, fertile area, whose early history is associated with Christianity. Jesus' boyhood, his early ministry, and his marvelous imagery as recorded in the New Testament draw inspiration from the lush land.

In Jesus' time, as now, the area was mostly Jewish. Kfar Nahum, "the village of Nahum," is just to the north of Allon's kibbutz. That was where Jesus' synagogue was located and where he sometimes preached. He probably spoke the Sermon on the Mount from one of the surrounding hills. Peter plied the adjoining lake for fish, and today the tasty fish from the Kinneret is known in the Jewish restaurants of Haifa and Tel Aviv as "St. Peter's fish." St. Peter's fish also makes the country's best gefilte fish.

Yet the land deteriorated into swamp and wasteland in the years following, and perhaps preceding, the Crusader occupation of northern Israel in the 12th and 13th centuries. Zionist upbuilding began in the early years of the 20th century, and it was on a hill called Tel Hai in the northern Galilee that the first Jewish blood was shed in self-defense, when Arab marauders killed Joseph Trumpeldor, an early Zionist hero, and a number of co-defenders of a newly established Jewish settlement.

I was instructed to meet Allon at the Kibbutz Ginosar guest house. Along with fishing and farming, the guest house provides the kibbutz with a good income. I asked one of two receptionists for Mr. Allon. She said Yigal would be down from his cottage in a few minutes. And a short time later he sauntered in, wearing an army jacket, black turtleneck, jeans and sneakers. He introduced me to his wife, who, it turned out, worked as a receptionist in the kibbutz hotel.

We walked back to Allon's cottage, located about 20 yards from the lake. It has a bedroom, living room and porch. Meals are eaten in the kibbutz dining room, but most cottages have a small refrigerator and stove for snacks and coffee. The delicious fruit of Israel—oranges, pears, apples, nuts—were in a bowl on the table.

Allon is a combination of three factors: a Zionist, a Socialist and a realist. The son of a well-to-do Palestinian land-owning family, his first commitment was to socialism and the kibbutz way of life. He is an idealist of the old school and believes firmly that the kibbutzim and the social values they represent are an example for Israel's youth and the rest of the world to follow. But he is also a realist. Not all of Israel, nor all of the world, will pursue life from within a kibbutz or Socialist framework. The book which has made the most impact on him recently is Solzhenitsyn's *The First Circle,* and he cited for me one observation made in it:

"The hero was sick and tired of the Soviet system. He said 'socialism without democracy is not socialism,' and 'democracy without humanism is not democracy.' But you don't throw away the ideal of true socialism because of its misuse! We must build Israel without sacrificing our social ideals."

Allon was an outstanding young commander in Israel's army and the leader of the famed "Palmach," or commando-type shock troops disbanded by Ben-Gurion after the War of Independence, partly because of their leftist, kibbutz political orientation. Allon was the commander of the northern region who, in the 1948 war, not only held Jewish settlements in the Galilee but freed them from the threatening grip of Palestinian irregulars and the Syrian and the Lebanese armies. A bit later, shifted to the south, he halted the Egyptian advance to Tel Aviv, dramatically broke down their resistance in and around the Feluja pocket, and captured a large part of the Egyptian army, including a young Egyptian commander, Gamal Abdel Nasser, with whom he negotiated.

Later in the war, Allon and his troops broke through Egyptian positions in the Negev to reach deep into Sinai, going to the very outskirts of El Arish. British fighter planes buzzed Israeli troops and threatened to intervene. David Ben-Gurion succumbed to British and American pressure and ordered his troops back from Sinai. Allon strongly protested the order to withdraw. He reportedly asked permission of Ben-Gurion to return to Israel "through Gaza," thus eliminating the Arab finger of resistance which would point into the young state. Ben-Gurion refused. The finger of Gaza stuck in the Israeli throat and helped lead to two more wars.

Allon's disapproval of the withdrawal from Sinai in 1949 eventually led to his resignation from the army. He was also none too happy with the 1949 armistice.

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He came to accept it, but not because he thought these lines of war would legitimize and freeze Israel's defense and territorial needs for generations. Rather, he saw at the time the possibility that if Israel sought all of Palestine for itself the young Jewish state would be faced with a problem similar to that of Rhodesia or South Africa. "This was repugnant to me," recalls Allon. "It was better to have less territory and genuine democracy than more territory and apartheid."

Today, the Allon plan, or something very close to it, is the basis of Israel's negotiating position. According to Allon, four principles underlie it.

"First of all, there's the historical rights of the Jews in this land. We do have a right to be here—a historical right," says Allon. "Otherwise, Israel would be the same as South Africa or Rhodesia—which of course we're not. If we reach a compromise with the Arabs—and I believe in reaching a compromise—it will be in spite of our historical rights, and in order to achieve another historical aim—which is peace.

"Second, we need defensible borders. If the Six Day War is to be Israel's last with its Arab neighbors, only a full-fledged peace treaty accompanied by defensible borders will create the conditions for peace. These borders must work as a deterrent to any aggressor.

"Third, the Jewish character of the state. I don't say this because I am anti-Arab. I believe in clear-cut lines of division. I don't believe in a bi-national country. I do believe in the possibility of an Arab minority living in a Jewish state, with full rights, or a Jewish minority living in an Arab state. If we were to annex the territories and all of Eretz Israel, we must become 'bi-national'—simply by annexation."

This leads to the fourth point. "Israel must be based on democratic principles. If we were to keep all the land we have, we would either lose the Jewish nature of the country or our democratic structure.

"I also don't believe in classes or a class society. A bi-national state would become a class society. We must preserve ourselves as a democracy if preservation is to be worth while."

Allon prides himself on being a political realist. He insists that "the rabbis, the religious high court, can't decide what our borders are to be. This is a political question. I am a man of compromise and I believe my compromise should be acceptable to the Arabs."

Yet a large gap separates what seems to be the Arab position and Allon's. And Allon seems aware that he and the rest of Israel will be driving a tough bargain in any peace negotiations that might develop.

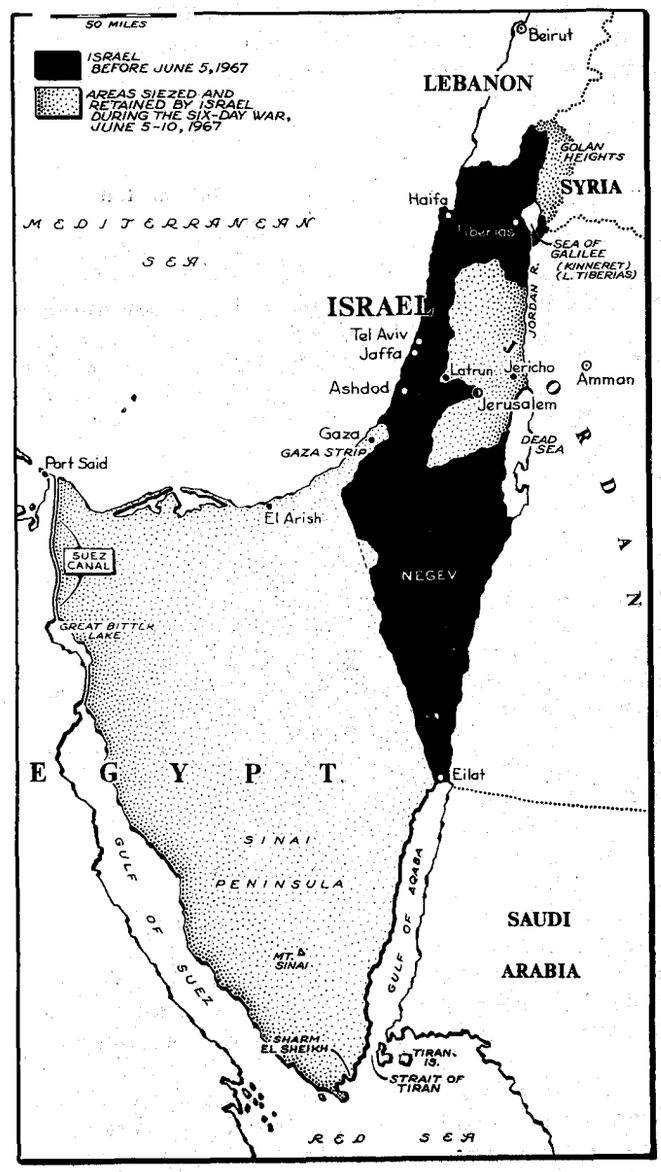
"The Arabs must learn the lesson that they are not the spoiled children of the world. They can't threaten us with war and extinction and, when they lose, get back all that they have lost by political means."

For Allon the key to Israel's negotiating position is the combination of defensible borders without the addition of significant numbers of Arab population. What are these borders?

Allon is reluctant to talk about them in any detail, fearing that announcements to the press will undercut the hoped-for negotiations with Israel's enemies. However, Egypt has been negotiating its case not with Israel but primarily with the world's newspapers and the ubiquitous Mr. Thant. I surmised the following, both from my talk with Allon and by checking with other Israelis.

The Golan. The Golan must be kept by Israel not for historical or "annexationist" reasons but because it is the key to the defense of the entire north of the country —northern and southern Galilee, the Bet Shean Valley, Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee. It is also vital because the Golan controls the major water supply of the country and without it Israel could easily be at the mercy of a whimsical and not altogether reliable Syria. It may be possible to move the current demarcation line back a few miles but certainly no more than that.

Latrun. There would, of course, be a "straightening out" of lines in the Latrun area so that the current and historic Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway would remain totally in Israeli territory. The Americans seem to agree on this point. The term, "insubstantial" border changes, used by Secretary of State Rogers and other American spokesmen, is understood to refer to Latrun.



Theodore Miller

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Jerusalem. Jerusalem would be Israeli, but the Jordanians or the other Arab state to the east would be able to fly its flag over Muslim holy places in the Old City. A "Vatican City," or extraterritorial status for Muslim and Christian holy places, could be agreed upon.

Sinai. Minimally in Sinai, the Israelis would continue to hold the Sharm el Sheikh area including the strip of coast down to it from Eilat. The entire peninsula would have to be demilitarized and Israeli forces—and Egyptian forces as well—could patrol the area to guarantee demilitarization. These are minimum demands, and Israel would agree to them only if adequate inspection procedures for a demilitarized Sinai could be worked out.

Arab port. The Arab state to the east would have a free port and right of transit to and from that point on the Mediterranean. This could be Gaza. It might also be one of the two large Israeli ports, Haifa or Ashdod.

The Jordan Valley. A key element in the Allon plan is a system of corridors to protect Israel from a threat from the east. An Israeli corridor would lead from Jerusalem to near Jericho and would also lead north-south along the Jordan River from near Jericho to the Bet Shean Valley. Jericho would remain Arab. The hills above the Jordan, forming a steep and rugged terrain up to the Arab cities along the ridge, would be Israeli. Comments Allon: "With due respect, if we hold those hills above the Jordan River, even the Americans couldn't cross them [using conventional means]."

Main Arab Cities on West Bank. The entire central ridge of the country and Jericho, including all the major centers of Arab population, would be independent and would be part of the Arab state to the east.

"I don't care if they call this state Palestine or Jordan," says Allon. "Unlike some of my fellow cabinet ministers, I don't get upset when I hear the word 'Palestinian.' Whatever they want to call themselves, it's their choice. It's not for me to impose on them."

Confederation. Allon favors an eventual confederation of Israel with the Arab state which shares Palestine, or Eretz Israel, with it. Such a confederation would help build an atmosphere of peace in the region. Would the Arab state have to be a democracy? Allon comments, "It could be a monarchy. It would have to work out its own internal forms. That's their choice, not mine."

Israelis have no faith in international guarantees, nor any particular faith in anyone but themselves. They have been disappointed before and they have had to pay in blood for misjudging the true worth of outsiders' guarantees. They remember John Foster Dulles, Dwight Eisenhower, and those others who promised them future safety after the 1956 campaign. Their "self-reliance"—some call it arrogance—is drawn from a lesson learned with pain.

I asked Allon what he thought the Americans would say about one or two elements of his plan. "The Americans? They are our friends . . . but they are not our judges. They don't really have superior wisdom. Look at what they are doing in Vietnam. They have enough of their own problems. But, of course, they are our friends. . . ."

Despite their genuine feelings of warmth toward America, Israelis have no intention of returning to the days when they depended for their basic security on the guarantees of parties whose interests did not and could not always coincide with Israel's. In the matter of guarantees, the question for Israel is not "next year," but ten years and twenty-five years from now. Only then could the worth of such guarantees be assessed. But such guarantees might leave Israel's younger generation dependent on a world which has all too often proved fickle when it comes to defending the rights of Jews.

Israel in its early years tried to steer clear of entangling East-West alliances. Even today, Israelis look toward a day of reconciliation with the Soviet Union, if only to enable Soviet Jewry to leave en masse. Israel is wary of pacts which might foreclose that possibility.

Israel realizes that the way ahead will be hard; that American and Israeli interests coincide only to a point; that it might once again find itself alone diplomatically. It realizes that it has a hard policy to explain and perhaps that it needs better public relations counselors. Above all, however, Israel will not leave a legacy of dependence or the threat of extinction for its youngsters. The goal of its policy is peace with security. Peace without security is of no interest. □

PARTY REFORM

THE DEMOCRATS OPEN THE DOOR

SAMUEL C. BRIGHTMAN
Mr. Brightman is former deputy chairman for public affairs of the Democratic National Committee.

Washington

The Democratic Party has worked itself into a position where it must run hard just to stay in place. The problem is that as its programs change the social and economic status of substantial numbers of its supporters, the party must find new programs to keep those supporters, or find ways to recruit additional supporters, or both.

The Republican Party has a basic cohesiveness; the Democratic Party displays its diversity with public brawls in which its members belt one another with more enthusiasm than they display later against their Republican foes. That was certainly the case in 1968.

The Republican Party has a solid, dependable cadre of people whose economic and social position encourages them to celebrate the *status quo* and to prefer a quiet government that bothers them as little as possible. Many

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of its people live in suburbs, built for the most part by Republicans whose profits were assured by Democratic loan guarantee programs. One of the major Democratic accomplishments since the election of Franklin Roosevelt has been to create new suburbs and to expand the middle-class ranks of potential Republicans. The Democratic Party has not had a solid, dependable nucleus of any real size since back in the 1930s, when it decided to leave the backwaters of the South and go national.

The Republicans get their campaign money by doing naturally what pleases their wealthy contributors who, by and large, want no special favors other than those they already enjoy. The Republicans find their money where they find their votes. For the Democrats, campaign financing is a difficult problem. One source is persons who may expect some rather unorthodox government services in return. This can be awkward—particularly since the other source is wealthy idealists who are inclined to expect of the party and its candidates an ideological purity that can interfere with the grubby chores of winning the election. The Democrats must get votes from Harlem and money from Sutton Place; votes from Watts and money from Beverly Hills.

Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that it is the Democratic Party and not the Republican which has adopted a set of top-to-bottom reforms that make it the first truly democratic national political organization in the nation's history. These reforms will undoubtedly bring new life into a sagging two-party system, a fact which was not lost on those who wrought and adopted the new rules., They may also cost the Democrats a Presidential victory in 1972, another fact which was not lost on the membership of the Democratic National Committee. The reforms will open the door for some very militant newcomers, who just might trash the joint and stomp out.

Still, after 1968 and faced with the hard demands of the young and the black, both of whose votes the Democrats will need next year, and with the prodding of the liberals, whose dollars the Democrats will need, all roads except the path of righteousness seemed closed. Therefore the Democratic National Committee marched down that road a few weeks ago with minimum grumbling.

It did not quibble over the big changes, the ones that open every step of the nomination of a Presidential candidate and the adoption of a platform to just about anyone 18 and over who wants to join the game. Moreover, it exposes all this activity to full public scrutiny. Finally, in a spirit of "if we're gonna do it, let's do it with class," the committee is taking affirmative action to make sure that the new rules are actually observed.

The Call for the Convention uses specific language:

"It is the understanding that a State Democratic Party, in selecting and certifying delegates to the Democratic National Convention, thereby undertakes to assure that voters in the State, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin, will have the opportunity to participate fully in Party affairs. . . .

"It is the further understanding . . . that all Democrats of the state will have meaningful and timely opportunities to participate fully in the election or selection of . . . delegates and alternates . . . [and] that such delegates have been selected through a process in which all Democratic voters have had a full and timely opportunity to participate.

"The unit rule [shall] not be used in any stage of the delegate selection process. . . .

"All feasible efforts . . . assure that delegates are elected through party primary, convention or committee procedures, open to public participation within the calendar year of the Democratic National Convention."

In case anyone might still miss the point, the Call contains an appendix listing detailed procedures for challenging a delegation and cites the specific do's and don'ts in the Report of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection (including a proviso on representation of blacks, young people and women that comes as close to suggesting a quota system as could propitiously be done, and also bans the use of filing fees as a barrier to young and black people).

Although it is not stated in so many words, the thrust seems to be to place responsibility for proving that delegates were chosen in an open and democratic way upon the challenged state party, rather than on the challengers, as in the past.

Finally, the Democratic National Committee and the commission are in touch with the state organizations, working out changes each state will have to make to be in compliance with the new rules. Special groups in all fifty states are working on or have completed changes in their party rules and/or legislation to comply with the new rules.

If all this is not sincerely meant, it has fooled me, and I have participated five times in attempts to reform the method of selecting delegates to Democratic conventions.

What the committee did haggle over was the apportionment of delegates to the 1972 convention. This squabble got most of the spot coverage. The old system was a patchwork of compromise piled upon injustice, piled upon an antiquated base system which gave the larger states far less convention strength then their electoral strength warranted. The "reform commission" had recommended a 50-50 split: apportionment to be based half on the state's population and half on the size of its Democratic vote in recent Presidential elections. This would have given the eight largest states, voting as a bloc, a majority.

To soften the blow to the smaller states, an *ad hoc* "establishment" committee watered this down by substituting a state's electoral vote for its population as a little more than half of the formula, thus preserving the same distortion that exists in the choosing of a President. This would have given the nine largest states a theoretical majority.

John English of New York and other "liberals" urged that a state's convention votes be based solely on its past Democratic Presidential vote. They said they could accept the reform commission formula, but would go to court if the committee used the electoral college formula. The committee did that, and the dissidents have gone to court, getting the Democratic Party (whose proposed method of apportioning convention votes would be much more fair than that used by the Republicans) off to an early start of its normal internecine warfare. The other state insisting as loudly as New York on basing the alloca-

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tion solely on the past Democratic Presidential vote was California. Both states far excel the other forty-eight in their ability to fragment, shatter, bicker and feud their way into blowing election after election.

The state of Georgia has added itself to the list of strange bedfellows made by politics with a suit against both major parties. Having cast its 1968 electoral votes for George Wallace, it wants both parties to apportion delegates solely on population. The Democratic and Republican National Committees disagree, saying that they lean toward having their nominees selected by people who are maybe going to vote for them in the general election.

The conflict, which was not much of a fight really, was between big and small states and not between North and South, although former Governor McNair of South Carolina was moved to remark, at the end of a self-righteous threat by John English to bring the party into court, that there were other ways than Presidential votes to measure the strength of the Democratic Party within a state, and perhaps New York would like its convention votes allocated on its record in recent Senatorial and gubernatorial elections. Mr. English failed to manage even a wry smile at this sally.

In addition to the absence of its usual North vs. South fight, the committee meeting was noteworthy for an orderly briskness. Committee counsel Joseph Califano, a reformed Pentagon whiz kid of the McNamara era, explained the proposed delegate plans with charts and pointer like an IBM sales manager. Hitherto, the Democrats have never been much for chart and pointer efficiency.

There was one small last hurrah—led, appropriately, by Johnny Powers of Massachusetts—who won passage of a resolution to make Democratic National Committee members automatic convention delegates. This enabled the committee to make a generous gesture to itself and to ensuing members, without appreciably changing the significant new shift in the balance of convention power to the big states. The small states, having the same two votes as the large ones on the issue of change, voted against their own narrow interests.

The Democratic Party has been the big-city party for a long time, but I think quite a few members were made a little sad by this final kick to the rural Democrats who, after all, did pretty well by Harry Truman, and some of whom survive in areas where being a Democrat is not the easiest style of life. But the rural Democrats seemed to understand. They see their population and Uncle Sam's tax money flowing to the big cities and the surrounding suburbs and they know that political power was bound to follow the same route.

What does all of this mean? How will it change the party? How will it affect the race for the nomination in 1972? It means that, more than ever, the candidates will court, as the Congress will cater to, the urban population, and more specifically that part of the urban population which may be a swing and/or bloc vote. In many areas, that means blacks and young people. However, the reform also includes abolition of the unit rule, so these voters will not have as much punch in determining the nominee of the convention as they will have in electing the President.

The new rules make it easy for outsiders, for young people and black people, to move right into every phase of the nominating process, to use their weight where they were blocked from using it in 1968. This probably means, with the Republican Party closed to them, that the radicals and one-issue (peace, welfare, marijuana, etc.) people may decide to come off the streets, at least for a while, and have a go at the Democratic Party.

Presumably, the candidates for nomination will have to win favor from these people—probably at the cost of neglecting Scammon and Wattenberg's machinist's wife from Dayton, who may be a little surprised by the hair style and the smell of the cigarette smoke at the next precinct caucus. But it should also mean that the Democratic Party will get a useful infusion of new blood. Within the Democratic Party, there will certainly be conflict between militants and moderates. The New York and California people at the Democratic committee meetings seemed to want a confrontation over the delegate issue, apparently believing it would bring young militants and black militants off the streets and get them to vote Democratic. Most members, however, hoped to find an accommodation that would bring in the alienated without alienating a larger number who are already prepared to vote Democratic.

That is the Democratic Party's dilemma and how it is resolved will be forecast at the precinct, county and state level next year, when the party begins selecting its convention delegates. Some potential candidates have great potential strength among people who do not now participate in party affairs, who do not put a hand to the party machinery. Now that the door is open, these people can come in and help their candidates; if they stay out they cannot do much for those they support. This means that candidates will have to find supporters who are prepared to fight for them from the precinct level up, starting early next year. That is harder than finding people who will pin on buttons or paste on bumper stickers.

But ringing doorbells for a month has always been harder work than picketing City Hall for a day—and more successful. The new rules haven't changed this balance of power. And the new rules don't turn the nomination over to whichever candidate carries Cambridge and Berkeley. They do say that the successful nominee will probably need a broader constituency when he goes to the convention than has previously been required—the result of letting everyone into the act and ending the unit rule. And that is a quantum leap.

Probably the biggest Democratic booby trap is elitism, or the hit-and-run "participatory democracy" of the "new politics." Most knowledgeable students of the Democratic Party believe that, although the nominating process was badly flawed at Chicago in 1968, in the final accounting, the nominee was the choice of the majority of Democrats. But the young, educated, well-to-do McCarthy supporters held that "the system" had failed because they did not get their way and most of them either worked against Humphrey or did nothing to help.

Should the new open door of the Democratic Party admit to the primaries and the convention a large number of rule-or-ruin Democrats who will march out again if

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the convention does not nominate their candidate and accept their platform, the immediate result of the courageous and sweeping Democratic reforms could be the re-election of Richard Nixon. Of course, if the trade-off for getting the "Right-on!" vote is loss of the Dayton machinist's wife, Mr. Nixon wins that way, too.

Back in 1960, playing by the old rules, the Kennedy forces showed great skill in winning the existing Democratic organization where it was strong, and beating it where it was weak. Under the new rules it will be much easier for an unanointed candidate to fight his way to the convention finals. The Daleys of the party will no longer be essential to victory. That is healthy, but it also means that winning the nomination is apt to cost more than ever before, and that is unhealthy. But whoever is nominated will have a mandate from the rank and file, and no one will be able to sulk honestly over "boss control."

As for the general public, the Democratic reforms make the two-party system more viable. It is no longer a choice of "America, love it or leave it." You can join the Democrats and change it.

The Democratic Party is wide open for the young, and if enough of them come in I think they will have the muscle to get a candidate and platform they can support with enthusiasm. The danger that their visit might turn out to be a hit-and-run encounter is one that the Democrats thought about. They decided to take whatever risks might be involved in making the Democratic Party truly democratic, and even though the party may have been nudged down the path of righteousness, it should get credit for marching briskly instead of dragging its heels.

The Democrats need the militant blacks and young not just for their votes in 1972 but also to refresh a party which may not be as stodgy as its opposition but is nonetheless becoming conspicuously middle-aged in thought and deed. However, the Democrats cannot afford to gain these loosely hitched new members at the expense of losing the strength they now possess among white- and blue-collar workers and in suburban and rural America.

Some close election watchers will argue that the fact the militant young were at the Democratic convention in 1968 cost the Democrats more votes among the middle-aged and middle class than were lost among the young and liberal because of the violence of the Chicago police. It is a little hard to persuade the folk gathered at a Park Avenue fund-raising soirée that there are Democrats outside Chicago who admire Mayor Daley's style, but it is so, and in some states the Democrats cannot get the electoral vote without their support. The violence at Chicago hurt the Democrats on both flanks of the party; the same violence outside the Republican convention would not have cost Nixon votes, and might even have gained him a few. So if the purpose is to win, not just to make ideological points, the Democrats took a rather courageous risk when they put out the welcome mat.

I am inclined to suspect that if the Democrats cannot take in militants and keep moderates, there goes the two-party system; and if that blows, the radicals of the Right and Left are going to have a lot more power. They might be able to split the center and pull its sections to the far Left and far Right.

Back in 1948, when the Democratic Party received a post-World War II infusion of new blood, an obscure young man cutting his eye teeth on the national political scene spoke eloquently for a stronger civil rights plank, which was adopted. His name was Hubert H. Humphrey.

Another young delegate won approval of the following resolution: "Resolved, That this Convention approve and have included in the complete and final proceedings of this Convention, all resolutions of tribute and condolence as have properly been delivered to the Secretary of the Convention." His name was Richard J. Daley.

It will be interesting to see what young Humphreys and Daleys the Democratic reforms bring to the floor of the convention in 1972. And who has contributed more than these two to the climate which brought about those reforms? □

FISCAL PROBLEMS, HUMAN NEEDS

THE CASE FOR FEDERAL WELFARE

ALVIN L. SCHORR
Mr. Schorr until 1968 was Deputy Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. He is now Dean of the Graduate School of Social Work, New York University.

Welfare programs are presumably intended to assist the poor, but federal welfare is being debated as if its sole purpose were to relieve the financial problems of states and localities. Although federal welfare is also in the interest of the people, their needs provide a sharper perspective on the design of a reformed program.

In the argument that is now widely being made, federal welfare is seen as an alternative to the President's revenue-sharing plan. In addition to loosening restrictions on the use of current federal subsidies, the President's plan would distribute $5 billion to states and localities for unrestricted use. Critics argue that, even though precisely the opposite is intended, states might become dependent on federal money and subject to federal manipulation. It is also said that states and municipalities would spend wastefully money they had not raised, that they are in any case inefficient or corrupt, and unless restricted would promote local and not national objectives.

As it happens, states and localities now carry about half the $13 billion annual cost of welfare. If the federal government were to assume the full cost, that would reduce their tax loads by just about as much as the President proposes to give them. Of course, simply

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taking on welfare costs as they are now distributed would spread federal money differently from the President's plan. In particular, city governments and rural state governments would not fare as well. But the stakes are large; broad agreement could probably be reached on a formula for federal financing that would somewhat favor rural states and pass some money through state hands to cities.

Rep. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House committee that must resolve the issue, has favored federal welfare as an alternative, for some of the reasons indicated. It must have for him the incidental attraction of removing his obligation to support the Family Assistance Plan once again. (Last time around, Mr. Mills sold that plan to the House by describing it as the nation's "salvation," only to have the Senate expose its careless design and return it to HEW for rethinking.) Other Congressmen welcome an exit from last year's dilemma: they were not enthusiastic about FAP but could not vote against it without appearing to oppose welfare reform.

Recipients, actual and potential, have quite different interests in federal welfare. The present so-called state-federal system—supervised by HEW but really operated by welfare departments of states, counties and cities—is a maze in which many bright ideas for reforming welfare have lost themselves. The Family Assistance Plan contains a number of illustrations of the way in which a new program, fitted together with an older one, defeats itself or compounds problems it set out to solve.

For example, FAP would have introduced a federal assistance payment of up to $1,600 (now perhaps $2,200 or $2,400) for a family of four, but many states pay assistance at higher levels. Should people apply to state and federal agencies (to "two windows," the experts say) for the relief they have been getting from one? Hardly. Should the states run the federal program along with their own? Not much would be left of welfare reform. Should the federal government run both programs? States are not likely to permit this while they must share the bill. So as long as state and federal programs coexist, recipients may find that their already extensive negotiations with welfare officials are doubled. Similarly, the basic $1,600 is carefully worked out to permit people to retain 50 per cent of any money they earn. But at the higher payment levels of state programs, a 50 per cent formula would produce payments to families with $6,000 or $7,000 income. Therefore, such families are permitted to retain only $1 out of $3, thus effectively undermining the incentive that was supposed to be a central feature of FAP.

A final example of the dilemmas of coexisting state and federal programs: much has been made of the need to eliminate the difference in payment levels between states, between intact and broken families, and so forth. But the working poor who benefited only from the new federal program would wind up with less total income than those who benefit from state programs as well—that is, those people who live in states with higher assistance levels, and the aged, disabled, and fatherless families for whom those states have special programs. Co-

Pierotti

existence would create the very discrimination that reform is meant to wipe out.

In short, a new federal program piled on top of (or more exactly, poked underneath) state welfare programs would leave those programs operating as badly as now, not to say, multiply the problems now built into them. Moreover, recipients have another substantial reason for wanting to replace all state-operated welfare with a federal program. Many state programs operate in open violation of federal law, locking needy people out of welfare and serving poorly those it admits. The problem develops as follows:

In attempting to supervise welfare operations, the federal government deals generally with written policies. Therefore, attempts to bring states into compliance with federal standards are likely to represent paper enforcement of paper policies. The recent dust-up with California is an ironic example. California was refusing to comply with a 1967 Congressional requirement that the standards by which assistance payments are determined should reflect increases in the cost of living. The law does not require California to *pay* at higher standards; a state, having set the required standard, may pay only a percentage of that sum to recipients. So California's defiance may serve symbolic purposes but is not necessary in order to save money. The irony is that even on paper, it is not clear that California will comply with the law.

If HEW has difficulty with paper enforcement, there is naturally a considerable problem in what really happens in welfare departments from day to day. For example, an HEW review of welfare administration in Virginia in 1960 reported "practice in conflict extensively with the expressed purposes of state policy and federal requirements. . . ." People were discouraged from applying for assistance; applications were taken but not investigated; applications were rejected without evidence. A 1969

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study for the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition, a study Secretary Finch characterized as "excellent," found the pattern continuing. In addition, it reported preferential treatment of residents of predominantly white, rural counties. It was estimated that the residents of twenty-one predominantly black rural counties were unlawfully being deprived of $1 million a year in welfare payments. (The committee's chairman, Senator McGovern, subsequently introduced an amendment to FAP to federalize public assistance.)

There is no reason to single out Virginia. In Mississippi—a small but poignant violation—HEW has not even managed to have welfare recipients addressed with the courtesy titles, Mr., Mrs., Miss. Similar observations have been made about New Jersey, Texas, Nevada, California and other states. Differences among the states—between per capita income of $3,000 and $5,000, between the size and situation of minority groups, and in the significance of farm labor—lead to different determinations as to who shall be assisted and in what manner. Under state administration, and in the absence of an enormous supervisory effort by the federal government, these differences are reflected in day-to-day practice. When in the end the federal government becomes aware of violations, its only real sanction is to withdraw aid, thus penalizing the very people who are supposed to be helped.

So federal welfare is in the interest of welfare recipients for two major reasons. First, it would permit a one-window program and genuine reform rather than the immersion of a couple of bright new ideas into a stew of existing programs. Second, it would more nearly assure the provision of assistance in the manner and to the people that Congress specified. If assistance recipients are to be denied the petty fraud that some say is epidemic, perhaps government agencies and officials should be denied organized fraud against the recipients.

Such considerations take the stake of recipients in federal welfare a big step beyond the interests of those who simply seek fiscal relief. To get a better program, recipients require the full federal administration that federal financing seems to imply. Yet, there will be temptations to undermine federal administration even while moving to federal financing. Some Congressmen suspect that HEW could not administer welfare any better than they have supervised it, and HEW is itself not enthusiastic about taking on the chore. The program that deals with mothers and children is going to be difficult to administer, no matter who is in charge. Congressmen may be reluctant to have the federal people take it on until they see it working better. And full federal administration requires Congress to specify what payments shall be made. They would find it easier to specify some minimum federal level, low enough to affect few states, and leave each state to work out its own higher level.

States, from their point of view, might be attracted by the notion that they could perhaps shed the cost of welfare programs while retaining administrative control.

Federal administration can be undermined in a variety of ways. For example, the relatively uncontroversial programs for the blind, aged and disabled may be administered federally, while the program for families with children, although it is the most sinned against by state administration, would remain with states. Or the federal government may be permitted to contract with states, to administer a new program. Or the Congress can write extensive standards for a state-operated program and call that federal administration, even though that is precisely the principle that is working so poorly now.

But the dilemmas that Congress may be reluctant to face have made welfare what it is and will, if not faced now, bring the same officials back before the same committees in three or four years to explain, as if they had discovered a new continent, that the welfare system is bankrupt. Nor will partial steps to tighten federal control lead to subsequent steps that create a single, federally operated set of programs. At the moment, there is a broad public demand for real reform, and the states are so desperate for fiscal relief that they may be willing to give up control of these major programs. When the moment passes, and if states are relieved of these costs, federal administration may no longer be achievable. Without genuine federal administration of an integrated set of welfare programs, we may have served governments but not welfare recipients. That, to be sure, would be something, but it would not be welfare reform. □

POWER AND MUTATION

Fallout from the 'Peaceful Atom'

PETE WINSLOW
Mr. Winslow, a reporter on the Livermore (Calif.) Independent, *is also a poet and essayist.*

Dr. Linus Pauling's campaign against nuclear weapons testing a decade ago mobilized more than 11,000 scientists from forty-nine countries, was a decisive factor in halting tests in the atmosphere, and brought him the Nobel Peace Prize for 1962. In 1963, Pauling estimated that more than 15 million stillbirths, gross birth defects and childhood deaths had already been made inevitable by radioactive fallout.

Today, according to Drs. John W. Gofman and Arthur R. Tamplin, senior research scientists at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (LRL), Livermore, Calif., the "peaceful atom" threatens to expose Americans to an average of twenty times as much high-energy radiation as they have received from fallout, with an even more appalling toll in human life. Their theories rest on a concept known as "linearity": that each unit of radiation at low

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levels is as likely to cause cancer as one at higher levels, where doses are known to be carcinogenic. For instance, they say, a single R* accumulated from ten years of exposure to natural background radiation is just as apt to cause death as each R in a 100-R dose received instantaneously.

Although linearity has never been disproved, medical practice and federal radiation guidelines are based on tacit agreement that there is a "harmless" dose. There is no way to determine the origin of a cancer. It may be, according to Gofman and Tamplin, that a certain percentage of cancer has always been caused by background radiation. Research on mutation effects and numbers of cancers is currently under way in areas of the world which have several times the usual amount of background radiation, but nothing conclusive has yet been released. By administering diagnostic X-rays, doctors may be causing the death of some of their patients—a minuscule percentage, but a not inconsiderable number nationwide, if one accepts the linear theory.

Such conclusions are unpalatable; far from being considered for a Nobel Prize, Gofman and Tamplin haven't even been able to get their book, *"Population Control" Through Nuclear Pollution*, reviewed in the national press, although many periodicals have mentioned it. It remains to be seen whether or not the book, along with their other utterances, accomplishes its major goal of attracting more responsible scientific attention to the potential dangers of low-level radiation. Thus far, their colleagues in the Atomic Energy Commission, which supports the Livermore laboratory through a contract with the University of California, have battled the pair at every turn.

Gofman, 52, is Tamplin's senior by nine years. He has doctorates in chemistry and medicine. AEC chairman Glenn T. Seaborg, under whom Gofman studied at Berkeley, called his thesis problem, the discovery and demonstration of the fissionability of uranium-233, which is the route to atomic power through the use of thorium, "one of the most interesting on record." Gofman was a section leader in the 1943-44 Plutonium Project at Berkeley, and has been a full professor of medical physics since 1954. The AEC pays half his salary, the university the remainder. Gofman says that when the LRL-Livermore Division of Biology and Medicine was set up to investigate the relationship of radiation to public health and safety, Seaborg promised him virtually a free hand. For several years Gofman served both as director of the Bio-Med division and as one of a dozen or so associate directors of the Livermore laboratory. His special field of investigation is the chromosome, about which practically everything that is known has been learned in the past decade.

Tamplin, a biophysicist, earned his Ph.D. at Berkeley under Gofman's supervision and, according to the older man, has become one of the world's leading experts on how radioactive substances wend their way into the food chain of man and what sort of dosages they give. After four years with the RAND Corporation, he went to LRL one month before the formation of the Bio-Med division in July 1963. As Tamplin explains it, the AEC was under fire at the time because radioactive iodine from bomb testing was causing pollution in Utah and Nevada. Shortly thereafter, the atmospheric test-ban treaty was signed, and some observers felt there was no further need for the Bio-Med division. It managed to get funded, however, and has done so every year since. The amount was the same each year until 1970-71, when Bio-Med shared in a 1,000-man cutback at the three weapons laboratories, Livermore, Los Alamos and Sandia. Tamplin shared in it, too, losing eleven of his twelve staff members.

Tamplin says he first ran into resistance from the LRL brass about four years ago when he issued a document that estimated the fallout dosage to man from Plowshare cratering experiments. Project Plowshare is the AEC's program for developing peaceful uses for nuclear explosives, and the goal at that time, when it appeared that feats as vast as the construction of a second Panama Canal might be feasible, was to determine what sorts of crater nuclear devices would produce under various conditions. Obviously, the associated amounts of radioactive pollution were also a major concern. In his investigation of the three such experiments that had been carried out, Tamplin chose to direct most of his attention to the least favorable, his reasoning being that if there is something one doesn't know, one makes a worst-case projection in order always "to err on the side of man." The Plowshare people, Tamplin says, wanted instead to promote the most successful situation: "They said we shouldn't use the one we did because it wasn't typical." The breach was widened when Tamplin insisted on publishing his own estimate of the number of infant deaths caused in the United States by radioactive fallout, an estimate made as an AEC rebuttal to another scientist, Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh, who had put the number at 400,000. Tamplin said 4,000, but the AEC doesn't like any public talk about death.

On October 29, 1969, Gofman and Tamplin presented to a scientific meeting an estimate that exposure of the U.S. population to the dose of radiation currently permitted by the Federal Radiation Council—.17 R per year; about equivalent to four chest X-rays—would lead to 17,000 additional cases of cancer and leukemia annually. They obtained this figure by extrapolating cancer statistics from much higher doses. Later they revised their estimate to 16,000, subtracting cases caused by radiation to the fetus, which they felt they couldn't estimate. Eventually they decided they had been too conservative and adjusted their estimate to a minimum of 32,000 extra cancer and leukemia deaths per year, and they do not regard Linus Pauling's estimate of a probable 96,000 deaths as out of line. In addition, they predict 150,000 to 1.5 million additional deaths per year from genetically determined diseases in a future population of 300 million, not including genetically determined stillbirths and infant deaths. This agrees with an estimate by Prof. Joshua Lederberg, Nobel Prize-winning geneticist. Gofman and Tamplin predict also a 5-to-50 per cent increase in socially crippling diseases such as mental retardation, schizophrenia and rheumatoid arthritis. All these estimates are based on the premise, stated by Pauling

* R can mean roentgen, the international unit of quantity of X-rays; rad (radiation absorbed dose), a unit of dose measured in terms of energy, 100 ergs per gram; or rem (roentgen equivalent, man), a unit of dose measured in terms of biological effects. Scientists use the terms more or less interchangeably.

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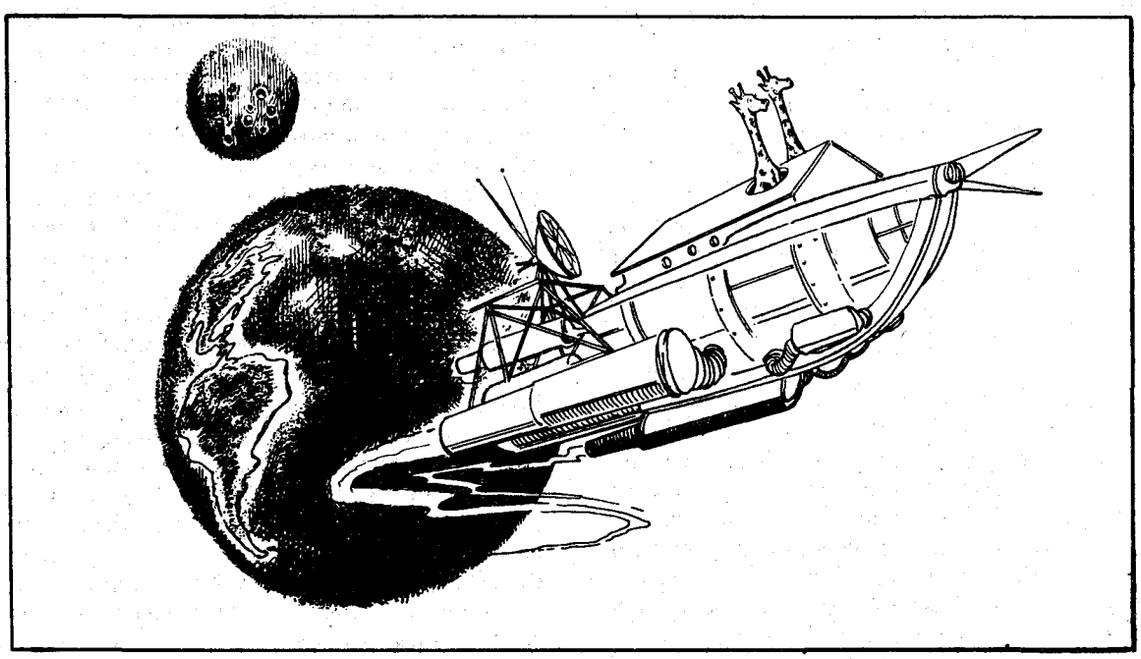

Vadillo

in *No More War!* (1958), that one "bullet" of radiation of any size is sufficient to cripple a gene. That is the linear theory.

One may quibble with the Gofman-Tamplin arithmetic, but it is not the main issue. Assuming linearity, one is bound to come up with a large number of deaths. Even Dr. Victor Bond, associate director of life sciences and chemistry at the AEC's Brookhaven National Laboratory and a dependable spokesman for the commission, has produced an estimate of 3,200. Disliking this line of thought, the AEC has switched to emphasizing how remote is the likelihood that any sizable portion of the population could be exposed to the maximum allowable dose, even if the currently projected 450 to 900 nuclear power plants are indeed operating at the turn of the century. But Gofman and Tamplin have been uncooperative in this area of argument as well. Despite impassioned denials by AEC spokesmen, they think there is a real possibility that if the AEC carries out the atomic energy programs it is promoting, the average dosage will increase right up to and beyond the allowable limit. And regardless of standards imposed on nuclear power plants, they fear that the commission's attitude toward uranium miners suggests how the general public welfare will be protected.

Although they do not ordinarily receive more than the maximum *occupational* exposure of 5 R per year,* uranium miners must contend with "radon daughters," short-lived progeny of the radon gas formed by the radioactive decay of uranium. These products are in the air inhaled by the miners and tend to lodge in the respiratory system. Lung cancer rates among these miners are extremely high. The AEC has not accepted uranium mining as being within its province of authority, and thus there has been no one to *demand* necessary expenditures to cleanse the air in the mines, although the Federal Radiation Council (a group of Cabinet-level government officers, supplanted this year by the new Environmental Protection Agency) *recommended* such expenditures. Instead, Gofman and Tamplin say, the AEC has accepted such statements as one by Prof. Robley Evans of M.I.T. to the effect that 300-to-400 working-level months (a working-level month is 170 working hours of inhalation of air containing a certain radon daughter concentration) is innocuous to man at a time when lung cancers were occurring at four times the expected rate, even at 180 working-level months.

Scientists refuting Gofman and Tamplin point out that none of the basic research on which the pair base their conclusions is original with them, and that almost all of it was studied at the time the present Federal Radiation Council guidelines were established, or has been thoroughly reviewed since. Employers strongly suggest that no harm to human beings results from radiation at the guideline level, and that receiving this amount of radiation over a number of years is considerably safer than getting it all at once. Gofman and Tamplin maintain that the tacit assumptions of a threshold level, at which radiation is harmless to humans, and of fractionation, whereby the harmful effects of radiation are diluted if they are spread over a long period of time, were incorrectly drawn from the existing data. In material presented in connection with their appearance before Sen. Edmund Muskie's Air and Water Pollution Subcommittee late in 1969, Gofman and Tamplin quoted Evans, who had a major part in setting the guidelines, as expressing the conviction that "there does exist an absolute threshold and a practical threshold for inhaled radon daughters, below which these nuclides are innocuous," and characterizing the linear, non-threshold model proposed by Gofman and Tamplin as "conservative, oversimplified, incorrect." Gofman later responded by producing seven

* The allowable exposure for an individual in the population was arbitrarily set at one-tenth that allowable for a person who works with radioactive materials, or .5 R, and the average for a population group must not exceed one-thirtieth of the occupational dose, or .17 R.

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papers by various scientists, dated from 1965 to 1970, which show linearity down to the lowest doses. He challenged Evans to provide a single reference that linearity does not exist.

Originally, Gofman and Tamplin had called for a tenfold reduction in the Federal Radiation Council guidelines, which have been in effect since 1959. Stung by rejection and even ridicule from the AEC, they later proposed that the acceptable limit of radiation pollution be set at zero, and that the privilege of releasing radiation to the environment be negotiated. The Plowshare program disturbs Gofman and Tamplin more than anything else. They deduce, in fact, that the AEC put up such a strenuous fight against their original recommendation mainly because it would rule out such pet Plowshare projects as "underground engineering," stimulating by nuclear explosions the flow of natural gas in otherwise inaccessible reservoirs. "We have overt evidence," they say, in a fair example of the blunt language which has disturbed many of their colleagues, "that the AEC is going to ram the radioactive gas program down the throats of the public no matter what they think."

Dr. Roger Batzel, who succeeded Gofman as associate director for biology and medicine at the Livermore laboratory in 1969, thinks Gofman and Tamplin are not *au courant* with developments in nuclear explosives. He feels that great strides are being taken to minimize the sort of radioactivity that was found in gas produced by test shots in New Mexico in 1967, and Colorado in 1969, and points out that no commitment has been made to use any of the gas thus produced in the home. Livermore Plowshare people have computed that an average Los Angeles gas user would receive from undiluted stimulated gas no more than .0048 R per year, and probably less than .001 R.

To make low-level radiation appear as harmless as possible, Gofman and Tamplin charge, the AEC has failed to carry out the experiments which would demonstrate harmful effects therefrom, concentrating instead on massive dosages which are known to be harmful. Moreover, they say, it has based the existing guidelines on the effects of radiation on adults, when it is known that the developing fetus is twenty-five to fifty times more sensitive. Further still, they maintain, these standards remained unchanged even after the death-producing effects of chromosome alterations caused by radiation had been discovered. The real genetic problem, say Gofman and Tamplin, is fifty to 100 times larger than medical authorities thought just ten years ago.

According to the two scientists, the AEC has even made use of the latency period of five to twenty years after exposure, during which cancer and leukemia develop, by carrying on activities that involve radiation of human beings and each year pointing out that the subjects are still alive—right up to the time when the cancers and leukemias manifest themselves.

The public relations-conscious AEC, which both regulates and promotes the nuclear industry, has frequently tripped itself up in its haste to squelch Gofman and Tamplin. Commission spokesmen, for instance, could not get together on how much it would cost to reduce federal radiation guidelines by a factor of ten. "It might well price society out of business," said Dr. Paul Tompkins, executive director of the Federal Radiation Council. "To reduce exposure tenfold would cost billions; it might even cost more than the Vietnamese War. To comply, you'd practically rebuild all nuclear installations and the factories that use any sort of X-ray equipment. . . . I'm not completely sure it is now technically possible to monitor down to such a tight level."

Not long after these remarks by the spokesman for a council which as a rule followed the lead of the AEC, Gofman and Tamplin say they were assured by Victor Bond and the late Atomic Energy Commissioner Theos J. Thompson that no AEC programs would give more than a small fraction of the allowable radiation exposure even out to the year 2000. How, Gofman and Tamplin wonder, can one determine from the testimony of these eminent scientists whether reduction of federal radiation guidelines would cost more than the war in Vietnam or nothing at all?

It well may be, as the AEC claims, that the benefits of nuclear power outweigh the risks. The present alternative, to build more plants fueled by gas, oil or coal, will produce more smog and other types of pollution. Whereas to this point nuclear plants have killed almost no one (Karl Z. Morgan, director of the Health Physics Division at Oak Ridge National Laboratory, has estimated eighteen deaths to the U.S. population from all nuclear operations in the country today), coal pollution has been known to kill thousands at a time. Emissions from fossil fuel plants cause cancer, too, although no one has ever made a serious effort to find out how much.

But according to Gofman and Tamplin, all indications are that the average power user is willing to accept an increase in electric bills in order to clean up the environment. If that is so, nuclear plants and fossil fuel plants would remain competitive if *both* spent money to clean up. They contend that the benefits of nuclear power have always been vaguely described, while the risks have been "denied, minimized, or lied about," and no weighing of benefits against risks has even been approached. Yet the industry, though hindered occasionally by the outcries of conservationists, moves ahead as rapidly as possible, both in the industrial Northeast, where there is no question but that new power sources are needed, and in other parts of the country. Nuclear plants are being built, in fact, all over the world. According to a recent count, twenty are now operating in the United States, ninety-eight are under construction, and hundreds more are planned. Gofman and Tamplin do not understand how the AEC will prevent the carelessness or accidents that will allow radioactive materials to find their way into the environment. They say no steps have been taken to keep radioactivity out of the food chains, where it can be concentrated 1,000 times.

Furthermore, they protest, the fast breeder reactors, on which the industry must depend in the future because of the need to conserve uranium, are enormously dangerous and almost totally experimental. A breeder produces more fissionable fuel than it consumes, by capture of neutrons from fission in nonfissionable material. Thus

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uranium-238 is converted into plutonium-239, fissile but tricky. The one breeder that has been put into operation is the Fermi, 30 miles from Detroit. During its 1966 breakdown, according to Gofman and Tamplin, it came dangerously close to a rupture of the reactor containment structure which could have sent lethal quantities of radioactivity on its way to the city. Seaborg insists that the nuclear reaction was under control at all times. Nonetheless, Carl E. Bagge, who recently left the Federal Power Commission, thinks that after the failure of the Fermi, it will be "at least 1985 before the fast breeder, even with a sufficient commitment of funds at the earliest possible date, would have an impact on the nation's power generation."

On the other hand, fusion in a controlled thermonuclear reactor (CTR) would make the fast breeder obsolete. Some recent estimates suggest that a successful CTR, clean *and* cheap, can be developed within the same time period as that required for the breeder. Experiments at Livermore and elsewhere have provided great optimism for fusion. So why, Gofman and Tamplin ask, have Congressional leaders persisted in regarding the breeder as something that is practical now and CTR as the power source of the distant future? Executives of the large companies which build nuclear reactors reportedly shudder at the very mention of the word "fusion." And Congress continues to place nearly half a billion dollars each year in the fission basket, while scanting fusion with $25 million or so and a few glowing speeches regarding its potential.

Gofman and Tamplin are not without friends. At Ralph Nader's urging, Senator Muskie asked the American Association for the Advancement of Science to investigate charges by the pair that the AEC has sought to harass and muzzle them through such actions as stripping Tamplin of his staff. Former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch last year set in motion a complete review of all aspects of radiation standards. It is estimated that this review will take two years and cost $744,000 if fully funded. This amount seems inadequate to Sen. Mike Gravel, another Gofman-Tamplin supporter.

Still, those who differ with Gofman and Tamplin claim to be in a large majority. Dr. Leonard Sagan of the Palo Alto Medical Clinic, who has become the chief anti-Gofman and Tamplin spokesman in the Bay Area, told an audience in Livermore's neighboring city of Pleasanton that the scientists who agree with the pair "could fit into a closet." If only AEC scientists are counted, he may well be right. Of the thousands of scientists who signed Pauling's petition against nuclear weapons testing (Pauling has kept the petition open for new signatures; he says the total is currently in excess of 13,000), only a dozen or so were AEC-connected.

In *"Population Control" Through Nuclear Pollution,* Gofman and Tamplin put their arguments against the nuclear industry into the context of a full-scale attack on what they call a "cult of science and technology." Their purpose, they say, is not to stop technological progress but to insure that technology serves society's needs. They do not believe that a population increase of 1 per cent a year demands an increased power consumption of 10 per cent a year. It appears to them that power consumption has become disconnected from the standard of living, that increase in power is provided mainly to supply "products and garbage" to the wealthiest one-quarter of the population, while the poorest one-quarter not only has no demand for additional power but continues to suffer infant mortality rates four times higher than necessary, and to have sixteen fewer years of life expectancy.

"The environmental crisis currently upon us seems unbelievable," say Gofman and Tamplin, "until we recognize that technology was in no serious manner concerned with its prevention and has been the major contributor to the existence of environmental problems."

Though science has not solved problems of poverty, disenfranchisement and alienation, Gofman and Tamplin have seen develop around scientists "a saintly halo," virtually assuring "that the worst possible errors of science and technology are not only permitted, they are *encouraged* and made ever more pervasive. The errors become pillars of the culture itself. . . ." Using such terms as "arrogance," "omnipotence fantasies" and "self-righteousness," they depict "a self-moving force inducing men to respond as pawns, unknowingly, unwittingly, and believing unto themselves they are performing a worthy task for their fellow men." A process of selection, they say, weeds out those who might become critical of technology, and converts the scientific community into "a remarkable group of think-alikes," little more than hacks.

Gofman and Tamplin recommend meeting this situation with an adversary system—a mechanism for challenging present-day science and technology and advancing new priorities. They think that about 100 scientists, funded at something approaching $5 million a year, could do the job. The first order of business would be "to undermine the unwarranted public and Congressional confidence in existing science and technology."

Meanwhile, they continue to operate their own adversary system, making their ideas known throughout the nation by personal appearances to give testimony (often in opposition to proposed nuclear plants), by statements of support for such projects as an initiative campaign by a 700-member organization known as the People's Lobby that hopes to give California the world's toughest anti-pollution laws, by articles by and about them in periodicals large and small, by television debates and books, the second of which, *Poisoned Power: The Case Against Nuclear Power Plants,* is due shortly from Rodale Press.

That there is great feeling on these issues at the Livermore laboratory is not evident. A page 1 review of *"Population Control" Through Nuclear Pollution* in a local newspaper produced exactly one letter to the editor, in which two LRL engineers castigated the reviewer for, among other things, "unnecessarily feeding the sense of frustration and alienation of our young people" by presenting the Gofman-Tamplin arguments. But the laboratory as a whole is silent, the actual state of mind of its 5,422 employees, including 509 physicists, 222 chemists, 704 engineers and 203 other professionals, remaining as secret as the classified weapons work in which most of them are involved. □

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NEW YORK TELEPHONE

Guided Tour of the Balance Sheet

FRANCES CERRA
Miss Cerra is a reporter on consumer interests for Newsday.

> This then, in capsule form, is the New York Telephone story for 1970: a massive service effort supported by a record-breaking construction program; steeply rising expenses; revenues that failed to keep pace; and the resulting softening in earnings. —*From the New York Telephone Company Annual Report.*

That is not the New York Telephone story that most New Yorkers would tell. Theirs is a more emotional drama about phones that—"I'm sorry, but would you try that call again?"—refuse to work. About phones that cause them to lose business and time, both work and leisure. As one woman said at a recent hearing on phone rates, the state of phone service "is one of the greatest threats to mental health in this country—greater than drug addiction."

So it was not placidly that New Yorkers reacted to New York Telephone's recent request for a rise of phone rates by $391 million, the largest amount ever requested by any utility in the country. How, they asked, could the company want a higher price for an inferior product? Amid all this emotion, the phone company executives sit quietly, pin stripes unruffled, briefcases overstuffed with volumes of facts and figures proving that they need the increase. Witness these statistics from the annual report:

¶In 1970, revenues advanced at a rate of 10.5 per cent, operating expenses moved ahead 17.3 per cent, while construction expenditures climbed 38 per cent.

¶Earnings per share fell to $1.33—from $1.65 in 1969 and $2.04 in 1968—well below the dividend of $1.60 (which has not been increased since 1946).

¶The company's earnings on intrastate investment dropped to 5.09 per cent, a twenty-one-year low.

What the executives know, and the public generally does not, is that these figures provide the basis on which the state Public Service Commission will decide whether or not to grant the increase, emotions notwithstanding. Legally, New York Telephone is entitled to earn a reasonable profit, and if it can persuade the commission that it is not so doing then it must be granted the increase.

The phone company has two vital advantages: unlimited expertise and complete access to all the facts. To become an expert on utility rates takes years of study of the peculiarities of utility accounting, law and engineering. Some say there are only six such experts in the country who do not work for utilities. In addition, an independent expert needs months to study phone company records because of their sheer bulk. New York Telephone's expense vouchers for one month last year cover three metal tables to a height of 6 feet.

Despite these difficulties, critics of New York Telephone focus on three areas which seem to shake the phone company's assertion that it needs a rate increase: the sudden and unusual nature of the company's "steeply rising expenditures"; the company's method of financing new construction; and the incestuous relationship of New York Telephone, AT&T and Western Electric.

To a large extent, New York Telephone's ballooning expenses last year were caused by the service crisis. That, in turn, was caused, according to phone company executives, by the inaccurate forecasts of economists and other statisticians. These experts predicted, they say, that the demand for phone service would remain steady, and might even drop slightly through late 1967 and 1968. Instead, the number of calls increased 4.6 per cent in 1967, 5.96 per cent in 1968 and more than 6 per cent in 1969. During the fall of 1968 and spring of 1969, busy-hour phoning in midtown Manhattan and parts of Brooklyn jumped more than 15 per cent; in the Wall Street area, the activity almost doubled.

The phone company, however, had made its preparations on the basis of the predictions. The number of craftsmen—linemen, installers, repairmen—employed by the company increased from 24,000 in 1961 to only 28,000 by 1968. From 1966-67 the company's construction budget actually fell by $15 million, to $400 million. Only toward the end of 1968, when the service crisis began causing public outrage, did the construction budget go up to $498 million. By last year, it was approaching $1 billion.

Some people, among them Neil Swift, director of the communications division of the state Public Service Commission, believe the company's miscalculations were inexcusable. "They say now that the calling rate rose suddenly," said Swift, who until last summer was president of the Highland Telephone Company, an independent phone company in the state. "I maintain that should have been calculated, and maybe it was in lower management and ignored by higher." Phone company officials deny this. But wherever the blame lies, the result of the miscalculation was to create some of the very expenses that the company now uses to justify a rate increase.

New York Telephone needed thousands of additional craftsmen to meet the crisis. New men had to be trained and all the company's training schools operated twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, for about six months. The cost of such a push, including the overtime pay to the school staffs, was enormous. In addition, the phone company received immediate help by borrowing about 1,000 workers from other Bell System companies across the country. This resulted in expenses such as this one, detailed in a phone company payment voucher: $189.75 for a man "borrowed from Southwestern Bell Telephone Company [for] an emergency trip home due to death in family [father-in-law]." Other vouchers show that this same man put in expenses of $102.60 for meals, carfare and laundry for one week during the month of February 1970. Small amounts, but not when multiplied by the 1,000 men whose hotel bills, meals, traveling expenses, maid and valet service and even bus tours were paid for by New York Telephone during 1970.

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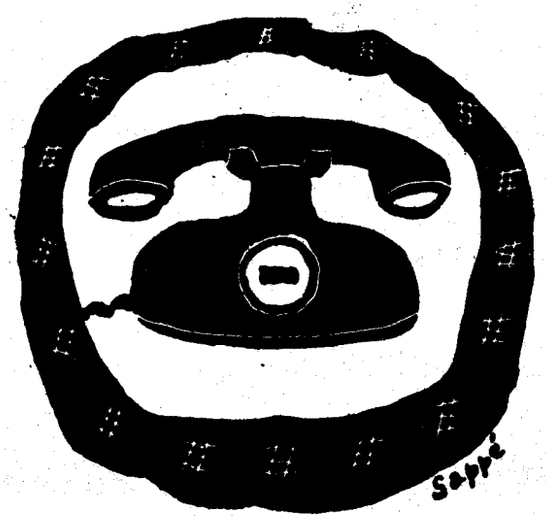
The out-of-towners are gone now. Nevertheless, all of their expenses, plus all the costs of overtime and training, have been lumped in with other company expenses in the phone company's statistics. A utility is entitled to earn money on the basis of its expenditures during a test year, and New York Telephone chose 1970, certainly an atypical year in its history, for the purpose. The company should not have to bring in out-of-towners again or have to run all its training schools twenty-four hours a day. Therefore these extraordinary expenses should be deducted from the total company expenses when figuring out if the company deserves a rate increase.

At this point, only the company knows how large a deduction that would be. The Public Service Commission, which is supposed to defend the consumer's interests in the rate case, says it is aware of the problem.

Despite what New York Telephone describes as a twenty-one-year low in its earnings, the company paid its normal full dividend of $1.60 on all of its stock last year. The lucky stockholder was the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which is the sole owner of New York Telephone. Here is how Donald S. Meyers, vice president, secretary and treasurer of New York Telephone, explained those payments in recent testimony before the PSC: "AT&T must have the flow of dividends from its subsidiaries if it is to pay dividends on its own stock . . . and to convince the public to invest new capital in it; and it must have this new capital if it is to continue to invest huge sums in the operating companies including New York Telephone Company. . . ."

On being cross-examined by the PSC's attorney, Myers admitted that some of the other telephone companies owned by AT&T have at times failed to pay their full dividend. Furthermore, he admitted that utility stocks did not fare badly last year, and that AT&T has not had difficulty in selling its bonds. An AT&T bond offering last February sold at an interest rate of 7.14 per cent, and some analysts believe the rate will be down to 6 per cent by the end of this year.

Myers was not questioned, however, on another key point: New York Telephone *chooses* to accept huge sums of money from AT&T to finance its new construction. The company could get most of its construction money by borrowing, but over the years it has, instead, preferred to issue stock to AT&T in return for construction funds. This practice has cost the consumers of New York State millions of dollars.



Here's what has happened. The company says its rate of return is only 5.09 per cent and that it wants a return of 9.32 per cent. This 9.32 statistic is really a combination of two statistics: the interest rate on money the company borrows and the dividend rate it must pay on its stock. In computing its desired 9.32 per cent rate of return, the company assumed that 57.5 per cent of its construction money was coming from stock sales and 42.5 per cent from loans. This is the result:

	Proportion of money raised	Rate	Weighted average
Outstanding bonds	42.5%	5.70	2.42
Outstanding stock	57.5%	12.00	+6.9
		Combined rate of return:	9.32

But supposing that New York Telephone had raised half of its construction money by borrowing and half by selling stock, a 50 per cent debt ratio, as it is called, used by most utilities and recognized as proper by utility regulatory commissions. Then the situation would be:

	Proportion of money raised		Rate		Weighted average
Outstanding bonds	50%	x	5.70	=	2.85
Outstanding stock	50%	x	12.00	=	6.00
			Combined rate of return:		8.85

Thus New York Telephone would need a lower rate of return and therefore a smaller increase.

In fact, the rate would be lower still if the company had borrowed more over the years, because the 5.7 per cent is an average based on interest rates over the past twenty-five years. In 1947, for example, the company borrowed $125 million at only 2.75 per cent; in 1954 it borrowed $75 million at 3 per cent. These, and other low-cost loans are still outstanding and are part of the 5.7 composite statistic. Thus if the company had managed its money needs with the public interest in mind, it would not today require as high a rate of return.

Furthermore, this management policy meant that New York Telephone had to pay income taxes on the money it paid out as dividends. Money paid out as interest on loans is tax-deductible; dividend payments are not. This fact is particularly important because the 42.5 per cent debt ratio is only what the company assumes for purposes of computing its rate of return. The real ratio of the company's loans to stock was 30 per cent as of December 31, 1970.

Combining this income tax and the effect of the 30 per cent ratio on the rate of interest, Arnold Hirsch, an independent utility-rate expert, estimated the cost to consumers in 1968 alone at $50 million.

Hirsch and other critics have also argued that New

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York Telephone need not pay such a high return on its stock. They held that if the company were to offer its stock on the open market, it would be such an attractive investment that a much lower dividend rate would be sufficient. Hirsch figured, again for 1968, that if the rate of return on its stock had been revised downward, consumers could have saved another $70 million.

The one PSC hearing held so far in New York City on the current rate request was reminiscent of a confrontation at the Pentagon. Peace groups, women's liberationists, senior citizens and Harlem activists drew together to vent their anger, and the target was not New York Telephone but AT&T.

"This application [for the rate increase] is a fraud on the public because the real applicant is not here!" shouted Dr. Ralph Reuter, executive director of the Metropolitan New York Consumers Council. "AT&T—where are they?" He hammered on the witness box with his fist. "We believe AT&T should be cross-examined because New York Telephone is totally owned by this colossus."

A businessman stated his case more calmly. "Where a master corporation has many pockets and the object is to show a poor picture of New York Telephone," he said, "balance sheets and operating expenses can be made to measure."

The many pockets of AT&T, in addition to its own direct control over long-distance communications, include: Western Electric, which manufactures all the equipment used in all the operating companies owned by AT&T; Bell Laboratories, and the operating companies themselves, which control 80 per cent of the phones in the country. The FCC regulates long-distance phone rates; the state utility commissions oversee the operating companies; no one regulates Western Electric. And no government agency is able to look into all the pockets at once.

One way of getting money from one pocket to the other is through the price scale for equipment that Western sells to the operating companies. In 1970, New York Telephone paid Western $653 million for equipment and services, and no other company was permitted to bid. Western, on behalf of AT&T, sets its own prices without regulation; furthermore, it determines just what kind of equipment New York Telephone can buy. The operating companies are forbidden to get their equipment from anyone else. In March of last year, the staff of the New York State Public Service Commission issued a brief which described the situation thus created:

> Perhaps the only restraints on Western's power to fix its own rate of return are strategic considerations; the danger of provoking regulatory commissions into making an adjustment in a rate case and the desirability of camouflaging the true nature of Western's operations. . . . In other words, the return goal must be designed to be not grossly but only "reasonably" excessive.

The PSC staff argued that a deduction should be made from New York Telephone's expense figures to adjust for Western's excess profits. Asher Ende, chief counsel of the FCC on the current long-distance rate case, said the commission is also curious about Western's prices. But to investigate that question, he said, "would require a special appropriation from Congress." AT&T has spent more than $1 million to prove that those prices are not excessive, he said, and to evaluate their proof would require a study costing about $1.5 million.

Has the FCC asked for this money? No, he said, "because we have so darn much trouble just getting enough money for our day-to-day operations. We haven't even got the staff to pinpoint exactly how much money we would need for that investigation."

Another aspect of Western's operations which no one is in a position to investigate is just what quality of equipment the company does sell. Does it make money, for example, by pushing obsolete hardware? The common black desk phone has remained virtually unchanged since 1950, while firms in Sweden and Italy have come up with one-piece phones and miniaturized phones that are far easier to use. As a matter of fact, Europeans had our type of handset by 1885; it was not generally available in the United States until 1926.

An obsolete phone is merely an inconvenience, but what about obsolete switching equipment or other improvements that Western perhaps holds back and that could reduce the costs of making phone calls? New York Telephone executives say that there is in the offing no new technology that would ease the need for higher rates in New York. Yet the engineering director of research and development studies for AT&T, Howard Craig, says that something called a "pulse code modulation system" makes it possible to put from twenty-four to ninety-six conversations on a pair of wires that now carry one conversation. A "millimeter wave guide" is capable of carrying 230,000 conversations in one pipe. Both innovations, he said, are already in limited use. How quickly they are put into wide use depends, ultimately, on how profitable it will be for Western Electric to build them.

In a telephone company building in New York City there are phone booths with no receivers. A caller talks into a microphone. New York Telephone has said that some of its high expenses come from the vandalism to pay phones in the city. The solution to at least part of that problem exists in these no-receiver phones, and yet they have not been installed on the streets.

Former Rep. Richard Ottinger has formed a group called Grassroots Action, Inc., which demanded in mid-April that AT&T return New York Telephone's dividend payments, that 51 per cent of New York Telephone's stock be sold on the open market and that the Public Service Commission conduct an investigation of Western Electric's profits. Aside from the possible political uses of the group, this kind of dramatic tactic simply maintains the illusion that anything can be "demanded" of a corporate giant like AT&T. More hopeful was the announcement by American Telephone Consumers Council and the Consumer Assembly of Greater New York that two experts had been hired to testify in the rate case. But as Asher Ende said, in the battle against AT&T, the public is "overwhelmed and overpowered." Until something approaching a balance of power is achieved—through, at the very least, realistic appropriations to the regulatory agencies—the public will continue to pay a phone bill that is far higher than it should be. □

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Proust's Prefaces to Ruskin

JEAN AUTRET and WILLIAM BURFORD

Mr. Autret is the author of L'Influence de Ruskin sur la vie, les idées et l'oeuvre de Marcel Proust (*Geneva, Librairie Droz*) *and was formerly professor of French at Vanderbilt University. Mr. Burford's most recent books are a volume of poems,* A Beginning (*W. W. Norton*) *and* The Poet's Vocation: Letters of Hölderlin, Rimbaud, Hart Crane (*University of Texas Press*).

In the spring of 1900, shortly after Ruskin's death, Proust published two essays in his memory. The first, entitled *"Ruskin à Notre Dame d'Amiens,"* appeared in the April issue of *Mercure de France*, and the second, "John Ruskin," was published in two parts in the April 1st and August 1st issues of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. He had also begun translating into French, with the help of his mother and his English friend, Marie Nordlinger, Ruskin's *The Bible of Amiens*. The translation was tentatively completed in 1902 but Proust kept working over it, and it was not published by Mercure de France until 1904. It contained many notes by Proust, and a preface consisting of the two essays of 1900, together with a foreword and a lengthy postscript. Thus, the preface to *The Bible of Amiens* spanned a five-year period in Proust's thinking. By 1904 Proust had already undertaken the translation of a second book by Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, and also another essay, *"Sur la lecture"* ("On Reading"), motivated by Ruskin's idea of the importance of books and Proust's own rather divergent and distinctive notions on the subject. This essay was published in June 1905 in the magazine *Renaissance Latine*, and was then reprinted as the preface to Proust's translation of *Sesame and Lilies*, published by Mercure de France later the same year. In 1919 Proust included his two Ruskin prefaces in slightly different form in *Pastiches et mélanges*, published by Gallimard. The following selected passages from the prefaces translated from the versions that appeared originally in the Ruskin volumes, are here printed in English for the first time.

Translators' Note

Fundamentally, it should be the first part of the task of every critic to help the reader to be impressed by these unique traits, to let him see similar traits that enable him to recognize the essential features of the genius of a writer.

If the critic is aware of this, and has helped others to awareness, his function is almost fulfilled. . . .

I conceive, however, that the critic should then go further. He should try to reconstruct what could have been the unique spiritual life of a writer haunted by such special realities: his inspiration being the measure of his vision of those realities; his talent the measure of his ability to re-create them in his work; his ethics, finally, the instinct which, making him consider them from the viewpoint of eternity (however particular these realities appear to us), impelled him to sacrifice to the need of perceiving them and the necessity of reproducing them in order to insure their lasting and clear image, all his pleasures, all his duties, and even his own life, which has no *raison d'être* except as the only possible way of entering into contact with those realities. . . .

—from Preface to *The Bible of Amiens*

Now famous the world over, reproduced in museums in castings which the attendants will not let be touched, these stalls, so old, so illustrious, and so beautiful, continue to exercise their modest function as stalls, as they have been doing for several centuries to the great satisfaction of the Amiénois—like those artists who, having achieved glory, continue nevertheless to hold some trifling post, and to give lessons. These functions consist, even before the instruction of souls, in providing support for the body; and to that end, turned down for each service and showing their backs, they devote themselves unpretentiously.

The wood of these stalls through continual rubbing has little by little taken on, or rather revealed, the dark purple which is as its heart, and which the eye that was once enchanted by it prefers to all else—to the point, even, where it can no longer look at the colors of paintings, finding these coarse by comparison. It is then with a kind of intoxication that one enjoys the glow of that wood, vivid forevermore, which is like the sap of the living tree overflowing with the passage of time. The simplicity of the figures sculpted here seems to take on, from the material in which they live, a certain quality which makes them doubly natural.

—from Preface to *The Bible of Amiens*

I confess that reading this page again (from *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*) at the time of Ruskin's death, I was seized with a desire to see the little man of whom he speaks. I went to Rouen, as if obeying a dying wish, and as if Ruskin upon dying had in some way entrusted to his readers the poor creature to which he had given life again by speaking of it, and which unknowingly had just lost forever the person who had done for it as much as its first sculptor. But when I arrived near the huge cathedral and in front of the gate where the saints were warming themselves in the sun, when I saw higher above, the galleries where the kings radiated up to those supreme altitudes of stone I believed uninhabited, and where here a sculptured hermit lived in isolation, letting the birds rest on his forehead, while there a gathering of apostles listened to the message of an angel poised near them, folding his wings, under a flight of pigeons spreading theirs, and not far from a personage who, receiving a child on his back, turned his head in a sudden and secular motion; when I saw, lined up before its porches, or leaning over the balconies of its towers, all the hosts of stone of the mystic city, breathing the sun or the morning shadow, I understood it would be impossible to find a figure of but some centimeters in the midst of this superhuman people. Yet I went to the porch of the Libraries. But how to recognize the tiny figure among hundreds of others? All of a sudden, a talented and promising young sculptress, Mrs. L. Yeatman, told me: "Here is one that looks a bit like it." We looked a little farther down, and . . . there it was. It does not measure ten centimeters. It is crumbling, and yet the look is the same; the stone still has the hole that raises the eyeball and gives it that expression which made me recognize it. The artist, dead for centuries, left there among thousands of others this tiny person who dies a little more each day; and who had been

A communication from Stephen B. Oates, the author of *To Purge This Land With Blood*, appears in our Letters column.

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dead long since, lost in the midst of the crowd of others, forever. But he put it there. One day, a man for whom there is no death, for whom there is no material infinity, no oblivion, a man who, casting away from him that nothingness which oppresses us, to follow purposes which dominate his life, purposes so numerous that he will not be able to attain them all, while we seemed to have none, this man came and, among those waves of stone where each lacelike effervescence seemed to resemble the others, seeing there all the laws of life, all the thoughts of the soul, naming them by their names, he said: "See, it is this, it is that." . . . As if he were not destined to die, he accomplishes his immortal task, unconcerned by the size of the thing that occupies his time; and having but one human life to live, he spends several days in front of one of the ten thousand figures of a church. He made a drawing of it. It corresponded for him to those ideas that exercised his brain, indifferent to approaching old age. He made a drawing of it, he spoke of it. And the harmless and monstrous little figure will have come back to life against all hope, from that death which seems more total than the others, which is disappearance into the gulf of infinite numbers and under the leveling down of resemblances, but from which genius has quickly drawn us up. . . .

. . . . At the call of Ruskin, we see the smallest figure which encircles a minuscule quatrefoil resurrected in its proper form, looking at us with the same look that seems to occupy only one millimeter of stone. No doubt, poor little monster, I would not have been skillful enough, among the millions of stones of the cities, to find you, to make out your face, to recognize your personality, to call you, to bring you back to life. But it is not that Infinity, Number, nothingness which oppress us are so strong; it is that my thought is not very strong.

—from Preface to *The Bible of Amiens*

But there is a more inward dilettantism than dilettantism of action (which he overcame), and the true conflict between his idolatry and his sincerity took place not at certain hours of his life, not in certain pages of his books, but at every moment, in those profound, secret regions almost unknown to us, where our personality receives images from the imagination, ideas from the intelligence, words from the memory, and affirms itself in the incessant choice it makes from them, and in some way, without respite, decides the fate of our spiritual and moral life.

—from Preface to *The Bible of Amiens*

Properly speaking, there is no beauty that is entirely deceitful, for aesthetic pleasure is precisely that which accompanies the discovery of a truth. To what order of truth may correspond the very vivid aesthetic pleasure we experience when reading such a page (from *The Stones of Venice*) is rather difficult to say. This page itself is mysterious, full of images of beauty and religion at the same time, like this same church of St. Mark where all the figures of the Old Testament and of the New Testament appear against the background of a sort of splendid obscurity and shifting brilliance. I remember reading it for the first time right in St. Mark's, during an hour of storm and darkness, when the mosaics shone only with their own material light, and with an internal, terrestrial and ancient gold, to which the Venetian sun, which sets ablaze even the angels of the campaniles, mingled nothing of its own; the emotion I felt, as I was reading this page among those angels illuminated from the surrounding darkness, was very great, and yet was not perhaps very pure. In the same manner as the joy of seeing the beautiful mysterious figures increased, but was altered in some way by the pleasure of erudition that I experienced upon understanding the texts that had appeared in Byzantine letters around their haloed brows, just so the beauty of Ruskin's images was intensified and corrupted by the pride of referring to the sacred text. A sort of selfish return to oneself is unavoidable in those joys in which erudition and art are mixed and in which aesthetic pleasure may become more acute but not remain as pure.

—from Preface to *The Bible of Amiens*

But when I speak of this passion, a little artificial at first and then so deep, that I had for the thought of Ruskin, I

ADDRESS TO THE SMALLER ANIMALS

I walk through the dark a heavy-footed animal
Smaller animals take cover I'm coming
through the dark streams of the sky and through the pines

All animals smaller than me I'm coming
Weasel I'm coming Woodchuck I'm coming
Mole smaller than me Porcupine smaller than me
Fieldmouse smaller than me

Snake slide into your hole
Rustle your cold scales over the rock snake
listen to me
on the rock next to you as you move fast
liquifying and condensing your dark links

Worm do the same thing you are a slitherer also
Spider do the same thing—feel my sound in the tree next to you
screw up your bridges of spit into you spider
Chipmunk someone is coming who is larger than owl
Night-flitting bat someone is on his way
who is greater than owl

As I walk through the wood heavily
Rabbit bounds off a little way
and stops and looks back
Deer bounds off a little way and looks back
arching his neck
Partridge looks back

Curious to see me who am no different from
everyman?

Why these animals all have the loveliest eyes!

while I go stumbling and stumbling through the dark
brothers under the dark stream of the sky
between the black dykes of the pines
the sky condenses and rarefies over my head

Robert Nichols

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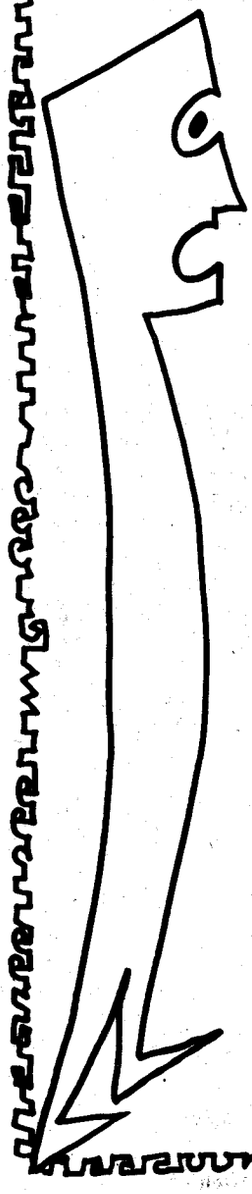
speak with the help of memory, of a memory that recalls the facts only—"but from the deep past nothing can be recovered." It is only when certain periods of our lives have come to a close forever, when, even during the hours in which power and freedom seem given to us, we are forbidden to reopen certain doors furtively, it is when we are incapable of putting ourselves even for an instant back into our former state, it is only then that we refuse to believe that such things may have been entirely obliterated. We can no longer sing of them, having ignored the wise warning of Goethe, that there is poetry only in those things one still feels. But being unable to rekindle the flames of the past, we want at least to gather its ashes. Lacking a resurrection we can no longer bring about, with the cold memory we have kept of those things—the memory of facts telling us: "you were thus," without permitting us to become thus again, affirming to us the reality of a lost paradise, instead of giving it back to us in recollection—we want at least to describe it and to compose our knowledge of it.

—from Preface to *The Bible of Amiens*

I leave it to people with taste to decorate their homes with the reproduction of masterpieces they admire, and to relieve their memory from the care of preserving for them a precious image by entrusting it to a sculptured wooden frame. I leave it to people with taste to make of their room the very image of their taste, and to fill it only with things which they can approve. As for me, I feel myself living and thinking in a room where everything is the creation and the language of lives profoundly different from mine, of a taste opposite to mine, where I find nothing of my conscious thought, where my imagination is exalted by feeling itself plunged in the depths of the non-ego; I feel happy only when setting foot—on the Avenue de la Gare, on the Port, or on the Place de l'Eglise—in one of those provincial hotels with cold long corridors where the wind from outside contends successfully against the efforts of the heating system, where the detailed geographic map of the district is still the sole ornament of the walls, where each noise helps only to make the silence appear by displacing it, where the rooms keep a musty perfume which the open air comes to wash, but does not eliminate, and which the nostrils inhale a hundred times in order to bring it to the imagination, which is enchanted with it, which has it pose like a model to try to re-create it in her with all that it contains of thoughts and remembrances; where in the evening, when opening the door of one's room, one has the feeling of violating all the life that has remained scattered there, of taking it boldly by the hand when, once the door is closed, one enters farther, up to the table or the window; to sit with it in a kind of free promiscuousness on the sofa designed by the local upholsterer in what he believed to be the style of Paris; to touch everywhere the nakedness of that life with the intention of being troubled by one's own familiarity, by putting here and there one's things, pretending to be the master of that room full to the brim with the soul of others and which keeps even in the shape of its andirons and the pattern of its curtains the imprint of their dream, by walking barefoot on its unknown carpet; one has then the feeling of shutting in with oneself this secret life, when one goes, all trembling, to bolt the door; of pushing it in front of one into the bed and finally lying down with it in the large white sheets which come up over your face, while close by the church rings for the whole town the hours of insomnia of the dying and the lovers.

—from "On Reading," Preface to *Sesame and Lilies*

This appearance with which they charm and deceive us, beyond which



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we would like to go, is the very essence of that thing without thickness, so to speak—mirage fixed on a canvas—that a vision is. And that mist which our eager eyes would like to pierce is the last word of the painter's art. The supreme effort of the writer as of the painter succeeds only in partially raising for us the veil of ugliness and insignificance which leaves us indifferent before the universe. Then he tells us: "Look, look. . . . Look at the house in Zealand, pink and shiny as a seashell. Look! Learn how to see!" And then he disappears. Such is the price of reading, and such is also its insufficiency. To make a discipline of it is to give too great a role to what is but an initiation. Reading is at the threshold of spiritual life; it can introduce us to it; it does not constitute it.

There are, however, certain cases, certain pathological cases, so to speak, of spiritual depression in which reading can become a sort of curative discipline and assume the task, through repeated stimulations, of continuously reintroducing a lazy mind into the life of the spirit. Books then play for it a role similar to that of the psychotherapists for certain neurasthenics.

It is known that in certain diseases of the nervous system the patient, without any of his organs being affected, is engulfed in a kind of impossibility of willing, as if he were in a deep rut out of which he cannot pull himself, on his own, and in which he would finally waste away, if a powerful and helping hand were not extended to him. His brain, his legs, his lungs, his stomach are intact. He has no real inability to work, to walk, to expose himself to cold, to eat. But these various actions which he could quite capably perform, he is incapable of willing. And an organic decay, that would end by becoming the equivalent of diseases he does not have, would be the irremediable consequence of the inertia of his will, if the impulse he cannot find in himself did not come to him from outside, from a doctor who wills for him, until the day when little by little his various organic wills have been re-educated. Now, there are certain minds which one could compare to these sick people and which a kind of laziness or frivolity prevents from descending spontaneously into the deep regions of the self where the true life of the mind begins. It is not that once they have been led there they are not able to discover and exploit its true riches, but without this foreign intervention they live on the surface in a perpetual forgetfulness of themselves, in a kind of passivity which makes them the toy of all pleasures,

DOGBABY

Lady buying carrots and two pears:
that is a dogbaby in your carriage.

It's warm.
You've tucked the blanket anyway
around his collar (hers).
Confusion
of identity. I mean
precisely who or what
or where one takes the proper space
among his peers.
There is always some confusion.

Is it a dog?
A baby?

Or having done with categories
are dogs and babies
all the same to you?
Our hearts are much too strict.
And separate.

D. H. Melhem

diminishes them to the size of those who surround and agitate them; and like that nobleman, who sharing since his childhood the life of highway robbers, does not remember his name, having for too long ceased to bear it, they would finally extinguish in themselves all feeling and all remembrance of their spiritual nobility if an impulse from outside did not come to reintroduce them in some way forcefully into the life of the spirit, where they suddenly find again the power to think for themselves and to create.

—from "On Reading," Preface to *Sesame and Lilies*

No doubt friendship, friendship for individuals, is a frivolous thing, and reading is a friendship. But at least it is a sincere friendship, and the fact that it is directed to one who is dead, who is absent, gives it something disinterested, almost moving. It is moreover a friendship unencumbered with all that makes up the ugliness of other kinds. Since all of us, we the living, are but the dead who have not yet assumed our roles, all these compliments, all these greetings in the hall which we call deference, gratitude, devotion, and in which we mingle so many lies, are sterile and tiresome. Furthermore—from first relations of sympathy, admiration, gratitude—the first words we speak, the first letters we write, weave around us the initial threads of a web of habits, of a veritable manner of being from which we can no longer extricate ourselves in ensuing friendships; without reckoning that during that time the excessive words we have spoken re-

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main like bills of exchange which we have to pay, or which we will pay still more dearly all our life with the remorse of having let them be refused. In reading, friendship is suddenly brought back to its first purity. With books, no amiability. These friends, if we spend an evening with them, it is truly because we desire them. . . . Nor is there any deference: we laugh at what Molière says only to the exact degree we find him funny; when he bores us we are not afraid to appear bored, and when we decidedly have enough of being with him, we put him back in his place as bluntly as if he had neither genius nor fame.

—from "On Reading," Preface to *Sesame and Lilies*

But there is another cause to which I prefer, in closing, to attribute this predilection of great minds for the works of antiquity. It is because they do not have for us, like contemporary works, only the beauty which the mind that created them knew how to put there. They harbor another beauty still more moving from the fact that their very matter, I mean the language in which they were written, is like a mirror of life. A little of the happiness one experiences while taking a walk in a city like Beaune, which keeps intact its fifteenth century hospital, with its well, its wash-house, its vault of paneled and painted timber, its roof with high gables pierced with skylights crowned with light hammered lead spikes (all those things which a disappearing period seems to have forgotten there, all those things that belonged to it only, since none of the periods which followed saw any similar things appear)—one still experiences a little of that happiness when wandering in the midst of a tragedy by Racine, or a book by Saint-Simon. For they contain all the beautiful outdated forms of language which preserve the memory of usages and ways of feeling that no longer exist, persistent traces of the past which nothing in the present resembles, and of which time alone, passing over them, has still been able to embellish the coloring.

A tragedy by Racine, a book of memoirs by Saint-Simon, resemble beautiful things that are no longer made. The language in which they have been sculpted by great artists with a freedom that makes their sweetness shine and their native force stand out, moves us like the sight of certain marbles no longer used today, which the workers of the past used. No doubt in those old buildings the stone has faithfully kept the thought of the sculptor, but also, thanks to the sculptor, the stone, of a kind unknown today, has been preserved for us, adorned with all the colors he knew how to obtain from it, to make come out, to harmonize. It is indeed the living syntax of the France of the seventeenth century—and in it customs and a manner of thought now vanished—that we like to find in the verses of Racine. It is the very forms of that syntax, laid bare, revered, embellished by his chisel so frank and so delicate, which move us in those turns of phrase familiar to the point of singularity and audacity, and whose abrupt pattern we see, in the sweetest and most touching passages, fading like a swift arrow or coming back again in beautiful broken lines.

—from "On Reading," Preface to *Sesame and Lilies*

Power to the Partial People

THE PARAGON. *By John Knowles. Random House. 210 pp. $5.95.*

PETER ROWLEY
Mr. Rowley has written for the New Statesman, The Economist, The New Republic *and* The New York Times. *His book,* New Gods in America, *will be published in May (McKay).*

John Knowles, though belonging to an older generation, speaks in this novel for the young, or at least for the offspring of middle- and upper-income Americans. Far more effectively and lucidly than Charles Reich in *The Greening of America,* he describes their rebellion and their disillusionment with their parents, the corporate state, the lily-white suburbs, the ecological mess, and the country's military madness. He understands their doubts. He catches their enthusiasm. He sympathizes with their hunger for genuine love and the opportunity for self-expression. Nor is he an academic hippie offering vague protest and a world of inaction held together by a kind of abstract affection. His heroes, both in his latest novel, *The Paragon,* and the earlier *A Separate Peace,* are hopeful activists, eager to contribute to a new society in their own way.

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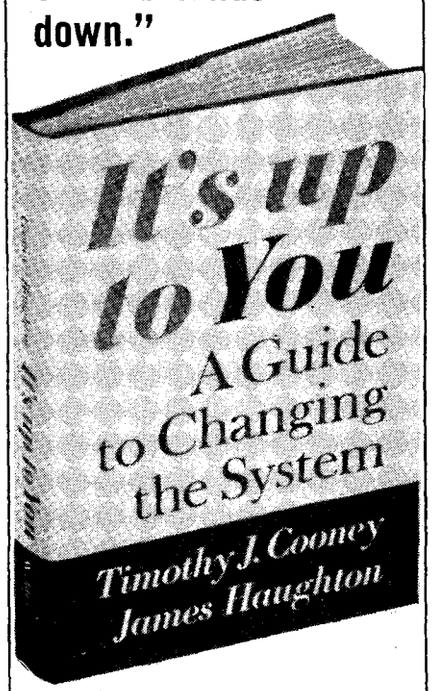

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likely submarines and perpetual-motion devices. Durant is rich and right wing, a vice chairman of *The Yale Daily News*. Through a quirk of Yale's administrative bureaucracy, Lou is assigned as Gordon's roommate. The title may be a double allusion to Gordon, the Yale ideal, and to Lou, who is nothing of the kind, and much the more likable character.

Although *The Paragon* is set in the early fifties, Knowles deals with one of the principal grievances of young people in this decade—their sense of having been mistreated by their elders, themselves the victims of a materialistic mentality that prizes possessions and prestige. Lou confronts his father, speaking in effect for the teen-agers of the late sixties and early seventies. He says, "You might have set me up a little better in life. I don't mean money, God knows. I mean not slap me around so much and notice God damn it that I had some talents and encourage them a little bit and not be so crazy yourself. . . . It really wasn't your fault . . . because your father was a repressed homicidal maniac. I know that. And his father was some other kind of monster, no question about it, and on and on. And it'll never stop unless somebody has the will and brains to break the chain. . . . Who? Why me, that's who. That's who I hoped it would be."

Lou Colfax is clearly an exception among "the silent generation," a precursor of the Bob Dylans who were to come. But two of the novel's minor characters seem to have intuitions about a basic cause of today's unrest. One of these is Norma Taloumi, Gordon's ex-stepmother. She says the silent generation is vapid and boring. To this a friend of Louis, an Afro-Brazilian student, replies, "The calm before the storm." Their exchange expresses convincingly enough what we have all been led to recognize since—the ennui generated by our technological society, almost guaranteeing the eventual rebellion of the young. The inertia of Lou's generation is emphasized again when a left-wing student observes, "It's bored with its own ambitions for the nice secure job, and it's bored with the big business it wants to work for and it's bored with the shopping centers it's going to shop in. . . ."

Lou had left Yale for the Marine Corps at the end of his freshman year, and then been dismissed from the service for anti-military behavior. Previously he had an affair with Charlotte Mills, a Yale drama student. She had wanted him to give her a baby. He had refused. When he returned to Yale, he discovered that she had since had a child, and had married a Broadway producer. At the time of the novel, she is returning to New Haven for the opening of a new musical in which she is the star. Lou decides that he is the real father, and comes to feel "the first tentative beginnings of pride in himself stirring somewhere in the endless chambers of his mind."

The novel's hero kidnaps Charlotte's baby. Looking at the infant, "Lou saw that an independent mind was forming there!" The story reaches its crisis when Norma persuades Lou to return the child to Charlotte. Lou "then ceased to be an 'I' and became a 'we.'" Lou has matured and, as the novel ends, he realizes that he has missed his chance with Charlotte, and yet with boundless enthusiasm and idealism he is already planning research on the oceans. Knowles describes Lou as feeling that he is now a "partial person," forever barred from the opportunity of happiness with Charlotte. "But partial people do great things in the world, don't they?"

There are minor flaws in *The Paragon*. There are a number of jarring anachronisms in Knowles's evocation of life in the 1950s. For example, Lou protests the moon program in the light of the fact that there is no program for harvesting the food in the sea to halt worldwide starvation. But there was no moon program in 1953. Another oddity is the characterization of Gordon Durant, who is so pompous that it is unlikely that he could have been popular on campus, even at Yale. And John Knowles seems to have a penchant for ambiguous endings. This was true of *A Separate Peace*, and it is true of *The Paragon*. While life is certainly made up of loose ends, art should not imitate it in that respect.

Knowles's style is gentle and unaffected, yet direct and firm. There is an acerbic tone to his treatment of Yale, an ironic bitterness which catches this same mood in his characters. He has shifted skillfully from depicting the naïveté of his prep-school characters in *A Separate Peace* to dealing with the newly acquired cynicism of college sophomores. Although he is sometimes compared to Salinger, he is both more honest in his characterization and less romantic in his general vision. Perhaps he is rather in the tradition of Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh* with its strong anti-parent bias and its sympathy for children and young adults, though Knowles's literary technique and the world he elects to write about are far removed from Butler's. In any case *The Paragon* is an admirable novel. It deserves to have the same reputation—and will probably show the same power to last—as *A Separate Peace*, the book that made its author's reputation. □

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BERNADETTE DEVLIN

In a speech, New York City, March 7, 1971

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THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

70, Girls, 70 does not contain that many females; the title refers to the age of various members of the cast (Broadhurst Theatre). It is a musical show with a book by Fred Ebb and Norman Martin; music by John Kander and lyrics by Fred Ebb.

It is a loony, corny, untidy affair and, to use Broadway lingo, "I loved it." The sillier it became the fonder I grew. This was a surprise to me. When the curtain rose and I saw the large company of gray heads, each of whom announced his or her advanced years, I found myself on edge. Why, I began asking myself, do elderly Americans feel they must ape the young? Why can't they act their age? If they were bouncy and foolish in their youth, must they persevere in this to the end? Why in our land is seniority so often regarded as inferiority? Because the young are quicker, are readier with the action that spells commodities? It is related to salesmanship, gross national product, getting ahead. Being is less valued than doing. It is a matter of economics!

These dark musings were soon dis-

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pelled by the show. There was a freshness of feeling in it, a satisfaction in play, an elation of craftsmanship characteristic of our theatrical age of innocence. It is said that actors are children; if so, it is one of their most endearing traits. With the withering away of confidence in the theatre through its desperate commercialism actors lose the particular naïveté without which they cannot take pleasure in their profession or give it.

The old time trouper had "style," a certain elegance even when his material was raffishly popular. An exceptionally accomplished actress, Mildred Natwick, is the star of *70, Girls, 70*; by her breeding, poise, intelligence and constant humor she gives the entertainment backbone. How earthy and strong, how assertive in her doubt, is Lillian Hayman. What verve and salt, together with trim articulation of movement, in Henrietta Jacobson. There is hearty vigor in Lillian Roth whose bumpy career has not diminished her ability to gobble life as if it were edible. Lucie Lancaster's present characterization combines an old-maidish timorousness with a wicked cuteness. But then the entire company is delightfully at home within the proscenium. One does not have to summon "nostalgia" as aid to the appreciation of these players: they are all aglow today.

This histrionic festiveness is based on a farcical notion borrowed from an English play, *Breath-of-Spring*. A gamesome widow suggests to a group of indigent companions that they may brighten their late years by a corporate engagement in shoplifting. In *70, Girls, 70* it becomes the peg for a number of "crazy" scenes and numbers. The lyrics are pleasant, the music supports them, the direction of Paul Aaron and Stanley Prager uses the cast well, but the roster of performers makes the show. One must be heavily uptight not to enjoy the fling.

A reader, Frieda Arken, has written me a nice letter suggesting that Albee's *All Over*, which she "unhesitatingly labeled a meritricious bore," might be something to read but not suitable to the stage. Her letter gives me an opportunity to comment further on the play to which the reactions, with a few exceptions, have ranged from boredom to sadistic hostility.

I find *All Over* every bit as *theatrical* as Pinter's *Landscape* and *Silence*, Marguerite Duras' *A Place Without Doors* (now being admirably played in French at the Barbizon-Plaza Theatre under its original title *L'Amante Anglaise*) or Beckett's *Play*—all of them pieces I have reviewed favorably. Indeed, what isn't "playable" nowadays!

Still that is not my point. The truth

REVIEW OF NATIONAL LITERATURES

Fall 1970 VOL. I, No. 2 HEGEL IN COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

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Fall, 1971
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is that what I prefer is a "swinging" theatre, by which I mean—Shakespeare! I love movement, color, physical excitement, bravura as much as "thoughtfulness." Since Ibsen, drama has become ever more introverted: this tendency has now reached the static. The atmospheric or social oppression of our day has brought about an explosive reaction to this: a theatre that is chiefly movement, sound, hectic imagery, in which ideas, when they exist at all, may be inferred. We are bound to accept these opposing trends in the theatre—they both mirror realities—providing we find them in one way or another meaningful.

What I seek in art are personal statements or manifestations of human experience. I wish to be convinced that the artist has really felt something about the world in which he lives and has found his own way of expressing it. I have often written that what Beckett says is alien to my nature but that I respect him greatly because his is a real experience (akin to one we all share at times) and that he has found his own special mode of expression. Most of what is seen in the theatre—even when agreeable—has a "ready-made" quality of secondhand content and form.

My temperament is totally different from Albee's. I find that, having become increasingly dour, disheartened and withdrawn, he nevertheless expresses a genuine response to the aridity of much that we now sense about us. There is a terrible tension in his work, as if he were about to howl his distress but somehow does not dare to do so. It "screws" him up—his language gives evidence of this—but there is an emotional significance in his writing that I find moving.

The result, theatrically speaking, is a degree of abstraction which emaciates his characters and makes "patterns" of them. Still there is more body in *All Over* than in *Box-Mao-Box* which was a graph of Albee's discouragement. For this reason, while I approve of John Gielgud's attempt to visualize the structural element in *All Over* through a thoroughly nonrealistic setting as though a place in which corpses were to be dissected and through acting which may be too formally verbal, I conceive another sort of production. It would still be stylized, but a precise environment would be suggested and the play's characters, somewhat less obviously isolated from one another than they are now, might take on more body.

Most damaging to the play in its present "format"—I wager it will be seen elsewhere in the country and more especially in many cities throughout Europe—is the size of the Martin Beck Theatre. *All Over* demands intimacy of presentation, a small house.

Finally in reply to my correspondent I feel obliged to repeat a tenet basic to my and, I hope, to all criticism: what counts in criticism is not agreement in opinion—in terms of "yes" or "no." What is important is how and why a critic arrives at his opinion, whatever it may be.

I have seen a number of performances which for various reasons (generally of time and space) I have not reported. They merited more than brief mention. Among them were A. L. Gurney's *Scenes from American Life*, a well-written series of "cartoon" scenelets, amiably satiric rather than corrosive, reflecting middle-class behavior in a small city like Buffalo, the author's birthplace. It was among the better things which have been given at The Forum of the Vivian Beaumont Theatre. It was ably acted and directed.

The Dream on Monkey Mountain by Derek Walcott, presented by the Negro Ensemble Company was overlong, but struck me as a play graced by expressive writing and some engaging acting. However, I could not judge securely because in the company's tiny quarters the music and sound effects made intelligibility difficult.

The most active and in many respects the most interesting theatrical spot in town is Joseph Papp's Public Theatre. Besides *Subject to Fits* (which I reviewed) and Siobhan McKenna's "readings" from Irish literature, there are now two one-act plays collectively titled "Underground." The first is *The Life and Times of J. Walker Smintheus* by Edgar White; the second is *Jazznite* by Walter Jones.

Edgar White's play deals in wry humor with the plight of a Negro intellectual who tries to hold himself aloof from the life of his people—in fact from nearly all people—and goes insane in the effort. Walter Jones's play is a slice of Harlem life: crude and convincing. Both plays are somewhat misshapen in their acting and direction, yet because of their authenticity and their unsifted naturalness they are arresting. One watches and listens as if through an open doorway and is stirred by contact with an area of experience with which one is unfamiliar—and about which one feels one should learn more.

In my review of Ed Bullins' *The Fabulous Miss Marie* in the Black Theatre at the New Lafayette (*The Nation*, April 19) there is an unfortunate misprint. A sentence containing a phrase about the play's characters being "somewhat too humorous" should have read "somewhat too *numerous*." □

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or years in solitude.

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to learn the only truth
you can tell another:
"we are all mad, every
one of us."

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Howard McCord

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RECORDS

DAVID HAMILTON

From time to time, this column has called attention to the historical function of the phonograph record, its role in preserving audible evidence of performance styles and the work of distinctive interpretative personalities. Present economic conditions are forcing major cutbacks in new recording activity (now even among the European companies), and it seems probable that an increasing proportion of the catalogue will be devoted to reissues and repackagings. Since the amount of material now in existence —some seventy years of recorded documents—is of a magnitude that precludes anything like continued availability for more than a small portion, a pattern seems to have arisen of rotating reissues: historical recordings that the major companies consider marketable return to the catalogue at regular intervals. Thus, the Schnabel performances of the Beethoven piano sonatas reappeared for the third time on LP last year, and now Wilhelm Furtwängler's 1951 recording of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony has achieved the same number of reincarnations (Seraphim 6068, two discs, $5.96). Other valuable recent entries in this category are piano records by Sergei Rachmaninoff (the Chopin B-flat Minor Sonata and various shorter works; RCA Victrola VIC 1534, $2.98) and Josef Lhévinne (Chopin and other shorter works); RCA Victrola VIC 1544, $2.98), and a 1944 concert performance of Richard Strauss's *Sinfonia domestica*, conducted by the composer (Turnabout TV 4363, $2.98).

But such releases by the major manufacturers remain sporadic, and relatively unsystematic. Furthermore, the sonic quality of these reissues may now be in jeopardy, because the publishers of the Schwann record catalogue (an independent publication, and the standard reference work for dealers and customers alike) have decided to list only stereo records in the main monthly catalogue. Mono-only discs will be relegated to a semiannual "supplementary" catalogue. This decision is not quite what it seems, for it does not involve the simple transferral of all pre-1956 recordings to the "supplementary" ghetto; any recording, of whatever vintage, can gain entry into the regular monthly catalogue (the one consulted most frequently—and, in many stores, exclusively) if presented in a guise purporting to be "stereo." This is an invitation to falsify the sound of older recordings, and one wonders how long the hard-pressed classical divisions of the major companies will be able to resist it. Both RCA and Columbia (although not Angel) have briefly flirted in the past with "fake stereo" on their reissues, and Columbia recently suspended the "historical" segment of their Odyssey series, so that all new releases on that label are late-1950s original stereo recordings. Schwann is, of course, interested in keeping its publication on a sound economic basis; but the decision is not without musical repercussions, which apply with equal force, incidentally, to historic jazz and popular-music recordings.

One of the anomalies of the American record industry is the absence of a legally defined public domain; since there is, under current laws, no copyright in sound recordings, a legal "gray area" exists, occasionally defended against "unfair competition" or similar grounds which, if applicable, are presumably effective in perpetuity. Recently, counterfeiting of popular records has become a serious drain on income, and the manufacturers have taken aggressive steps to combat this, but the money at stake in the field of classical historic recordings is evidently insufficient to warrant legal action on what are generally agreed to be uncertain grounds. And, oddly, no satisfactory scheme has ever been devised for leasing recordings to reprinters who might specialize in limited-demand materials (as is common in the book field to satisfy the needs of libraries for out-of-print materials). Into this "gray area" have stepped a number of small firms, which hardly ever duplicate material in the big-label reissue lines but concentrate on dubbings from long-unavailable 78 rpm records. Typical of recent fare in this line, and of considerable importance to students of performance style, are two series available from some specialist stores (or by mail, from The Record Undertaker, Box 437, New York 10023; $6 each): Emanuel Feuermann playing the Dvorak Cello Concerto and the Brahms First Sonata (Parnassus 1); the 1936 Vienna recording of Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* conducted by Bruno Walter, with Kerstin Thorborg and Charles Kullmann (Perennial 2004); other Mahler songs sung by Heinrich Rehkemper, Heinrich Schlusnus, Eugenia Zareska and Thorborg (Parnassus 4); all of Artur Schnabel's Bach recordings (Perennial 2001); and two Beethoven quartets played by the Flonzaley Quartet (Perennial 2003). Rococo, the Canadian firm whose reissue of the 1912 *Roméo et Juliette* was reviewed here recently, has begun a line of instrumental reissues along with its extensive series of vocal recordings; the technical work on these is much less good than on the Perennial and Parnassus discs, but a coupling of Lalo and Tchaikovsky played by the violinist Bronislaw Hubermann (Rococo 2002, $5.95) is extremely valuable, and some of the announced items look promising.

In other countries, recordings fall into the public domain after fifty years, and it is possible for reprint companies to proceed with rather extensive and well-documented series. In England, a collected edition of all Caruso's recordings is under way, and a similar project of Elgar conducting his own works. In Austria, where the copyright on records is limited to twenty-five years, the Preiser firm has been promulgating a line of vocal reissues that now numbers more than 100 discs, and covers most of the major German singers of the century. The standards of processing and documentation on this label are exceptional, and a welcome contrast to the practice of many American firms (although not Parnassus and Perennial), which give almost no information about the sources or dates of the material they reissue (presumably to avoid legal complications). This Preiser series is available at New York specialist shops.

Until the United States has a rational copyright law in the field of sound recordings, it is unlikely that we can enjoy (except as importers) the benefits of a consistent and rational approach to reissues—it is ironic, to say the least, that the "complete Caruso" is being produced

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in England, for nearly all his recordings were made here, and constituted one of the foundation stones of the American record industry! Most of the recordings I have mentioned are not listed in the Schwann catalogue (even in the supplementary one), and they are produced in relatively small editions. Once exhausted, they may well become as rare as the 78s from which they derive. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Eric Rohmer places *La Collectionneuse* (there is no convenient way to translate that title) fourth among his "Six Moral Tales," between *My Night at Maud's* and *Claire's Knee*, but in fact it was the third to be filmed and the first full-length picture in the series (the sixth is still in production). I go into this chronology because, if *La Collectionneuse* had been made in the order that Rohmer places it, it would seem aberrant, a loss of spirit after the splendid achievement of *Maud*.

Rohmer's project, as I've said before, is audacious. The essence of the basic plot he uses in the series is that it does not happen: a man who has made commitments to one woman finds himself suddenly and powerfully attracted to another, but the transfer is not accomplished and he returns to the original relationship. And, as though it were not enough to ring six changes on this aborted situation, Rohmer has elected to construct his films in defiance of a conceded principle of cinema. They take minimal advantage of the movement and visual excitement offered by the camera (though their settings are photogenic), and rely instead very heavily on conversation. In fact, any of the ones I have seen could be staged, almost unrevised, with the facilities of a conventional drawing-room comedy.

What makes *Maud* and *Claire* succeed, despite the deliberate impediments, is the quality of the people involved. They are alert but not profound, and rather too self-concerned to be admirable; but to a gratifying degree they are striking. Without quite knowing why, one becomes more absorbed in them than in their predicaments, and so one does not feel let down when the crisis that has announced itself fails to occur. Indeed, the very failure of the plot to jell adds conviction to the pictures; life is like that.

But, as must be obvious, these are sportive cat's cradles—very entertaining when they turn out properly and a silly snarl when they do not. The latter is the case with *La Collectionneuse*. Adrien (Patrick Bauchau) has refused to accompany his mistress to London, preferring to retire for the summer to a friend's unoccupied house above Saint-Tropez and there devote himself to cultivating vacuity. At the house, however, he finds Daniel (Daniel Pommereulle), a Pop artist whose *chef-d'oeuvre* appears to be a coffee tin on the outside curve of which are implanted a gross or so of razor blades. Daniel hides the inventive energy implicit in this work behind a pose of slothful insolence. A second guest of the absent householder is Haydee (Haydee Politoff), she of the title, a restless, low-spirited girl of superb physique who collects men for lack of wit or enterprise to attempt anything more taxing.

These three pass the summer in a variety of supine attitudes, baiting one another with secondhand aphorisms and complacent paradoxes. There is a good deal of teasing of the flesh, but the flesh seems weary and the response is meager. At the end, Adrien is alone, free at last to embrace the emptiness he had come seeking at Saint-Tropez—though, since he carries it about with him, one does not understand why he should need to search. At any rate, he immediately phones the local airport to ask when the next plane leaves for London.

This summary is perhaps unfair to the people Rohmer had in mind, but if so, he is at fault; we have nothing to go by except what he tells us, and he has shown elsewhere that he can make his characters engrossing enough when he wants. It occurs to me that in this "moral tale" he had the notion of telling a non-story about non-people, but learned from the experience that the double negative was more tour de force than his plot could support. The only way to deal dramatically with feckless people engaged in vain pursuits is to whip them with the excitement of moral indignation. It is not a project I would recommend; moreover, Rohmer is no whipper—as he says himself, "I pass no judgments on my characters. I consider them to be free."

In *Maud* and *Claire* the ambiance is not strikingly different, and in retrospect, I am not certain that the conversations are more than marginally better. One begins to suspect that "Six Moral Tales" is a title intended with at least some irony. But the characters in the other two films have the edge over those in *La Collectionneuse* that they care enough about one another to make us care about them. And since we do care, what they say sounds a whole lot better. That, too, is like life. In fact, what is perhaps most attractive about Rohmer's stylized project is the accuracy with which it plays upon one's own social responses. □

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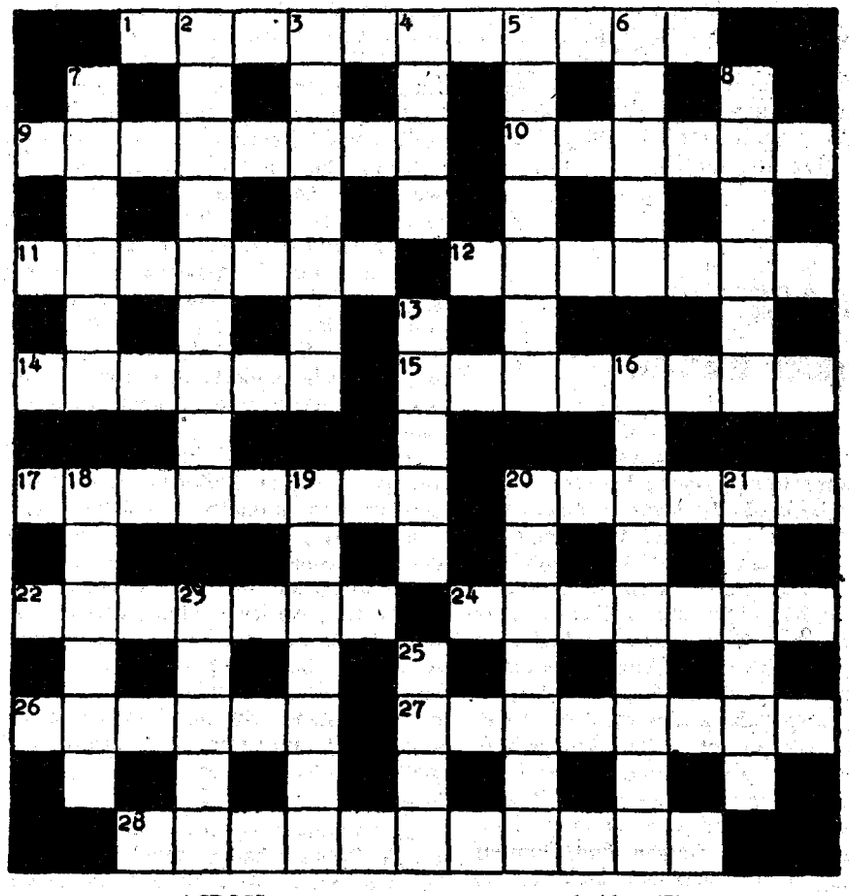
Crossword Puzzle No. 1392

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sounds like drawers for 15! (11)
9 Back up with nothing in stead of the people. (8)
10 A few parting words to pass on to the French surrounding it. (6)
11 Was transported one way, though not a new product as cured. (4,3)
12 The fleet is wrecked because of the rocks. (7)
14 See 25 down.
15 Those who might correct a list on board, perhaps. (8)
17 Not a maritime forecaster—more of an artist. (8)
20 Pale, but putting on weight in reckless fashion. (6)
22 Make a bow, whatever it may be around —it means confusion in general. (7)
24 Implying family relations—at least on the relative's one side! (7)
26 A group of languages back in the time of Medici at last count. (6)
27 An investigator of the unknown. (8)
28 No capital, but that's what comes of being a scaled-down renter. (5,6)

DOWN

2 Not necessarily fine Italian, but Sir Joseph Porter copied such as 28 in a big one. (5,4)
3 How whoever wakes in England sees, some morning. (7)
5 Setting about a number with three unequal sides. (7)
6 One of the things *As You Like It* players have. (5)
7 and 4 down What some people play, with what might be used to cultivate what some people play. (10)
8 Spread like a goat? (6)
13 However, the winner's is not necessarily 20. (5)
16 Cattle range on the Late Late Show? (9)
18 The later one was generally more loyal. (6)
19 Here, and elsewhere around, classically moral. (7)
20 What one shouldn't do to his cat, perhaps, or dog. (7)
21 Twist the invocation to the organ? (6)
23 A thousand more than 25 in the kingdom. (5)
25 and 14 across Perhaps a lot of something other than imagined inheritance. (4,6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1391

ACROSS: 1 Evening dress; 10 Outgrow; 11 Antonio; 12 Kusso; 13 Execrable; 14 Fungicide; 16 Axed; 18 Once; 20 Foreshadow; 23 Lermontov; 25 Range; 26 Nocuous; 27 Testudo; 28 Buffer states. DOWN: 2 Votes in; 3 Narcotic; 4 New Mexico; 5 Drape; 6 Entire; 7 Sand box; 8 Hook of Holland; 9 Honeydew melon; 15 Enervates; 17 Charisma; 19 Corncob; 21 Denture; 22 Pop off; 24 Taste.

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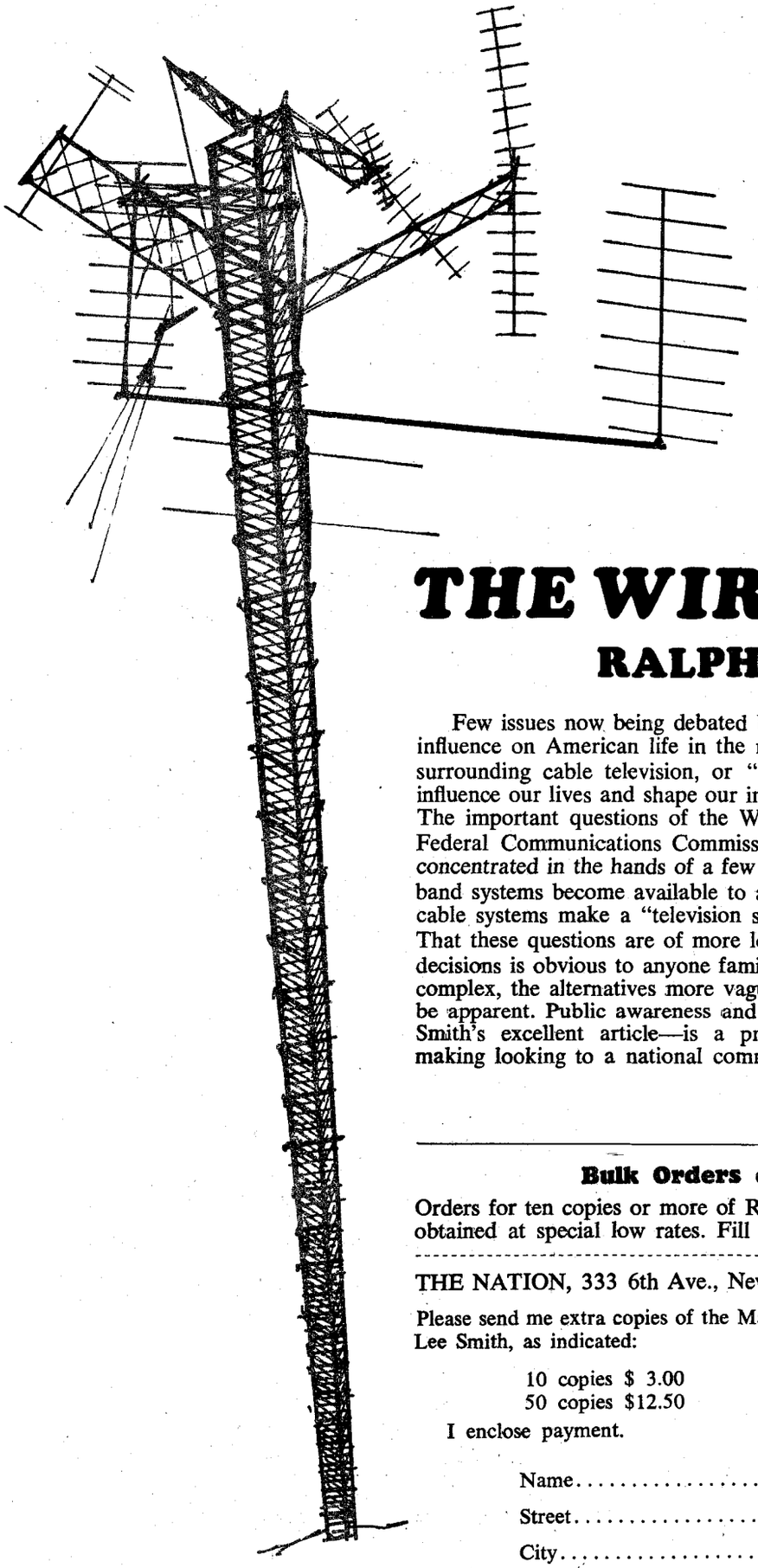

THE WIRED NATION

RALPH LEE SMITH

Few issues now being debated by the federal government have more potential influence on American life in the remaining third of this century than the issues surrounding cable television, or "The Wired Nation." Communications systems influence our lives and shape our institutions in ways unlike any other technology. The important questions of the Wired Nation are now being considered by the Federal Communications Commission. Will control over cable television become concentrated in the hands of a few media barons? Will two-way, switched, broad-band systems become available to all homes? Will "common-carrier" channels on cable systems make a "television station" available to all who want to use one? That these questions are of more long-range consequence than conventional FCC decisions is obvious to anyone familiar with the subject. That the issues are more complex, the alternatives more vague, and the pressures more intense should also be apparent. Public awareness and discussion—such as will be produced by Mr. Smith's excellent article—is a prerequisite to intelligent government decision making looking to a national communications system for the future.

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